

THE INCAS OF PERU

EMPIRE IN THE CLOUDS

A RESOURCE UNIT PREPARED FOR USE BY
TEACHERS IN NORTHERN ALBERTA

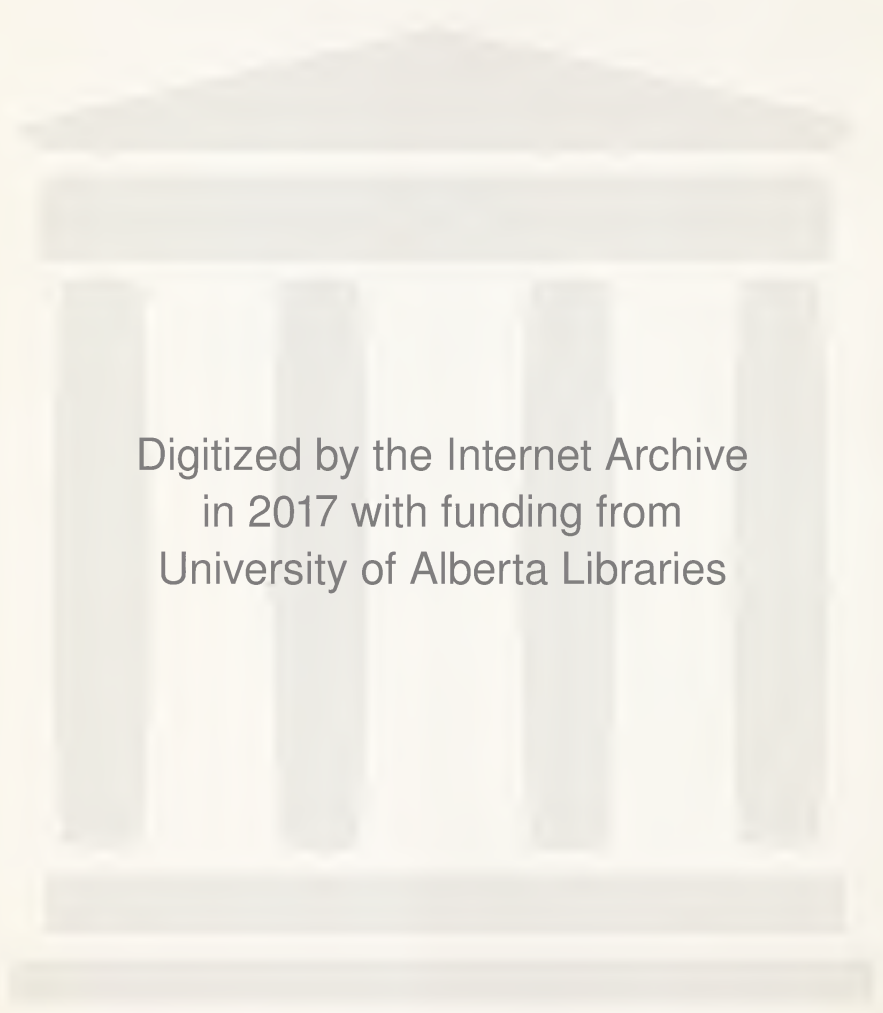
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INTRODUCTION

This booklet is the third in the series of Resource Units developed by Northland School Division for use in the teaching of the Enterprise.

Although the Alberta curriculum provides for the study of a mountain region, the suggested areas, Norway or Switzerland, appear to be less relevant to Indians and Metis children than the study of the Inca empire in Peru; while the present fortunes of the Indians in modern Peru are closer to the realities of life of such children than are those of Norwegian or Swiss peoples. At the same time, the geographical features of the Andes offer a wider variety of vegetation and climate than do those of the European mountain areas.

Accordingly an Enterprise outline for the study of the Incas has been developed, and this Teachers' Resource Unit has been produced to provide a concise outline of the history and environmental factors which have helped shape the lives of the modern Peruvian Indians.

This unit was prepared by

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CHAPTER I

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

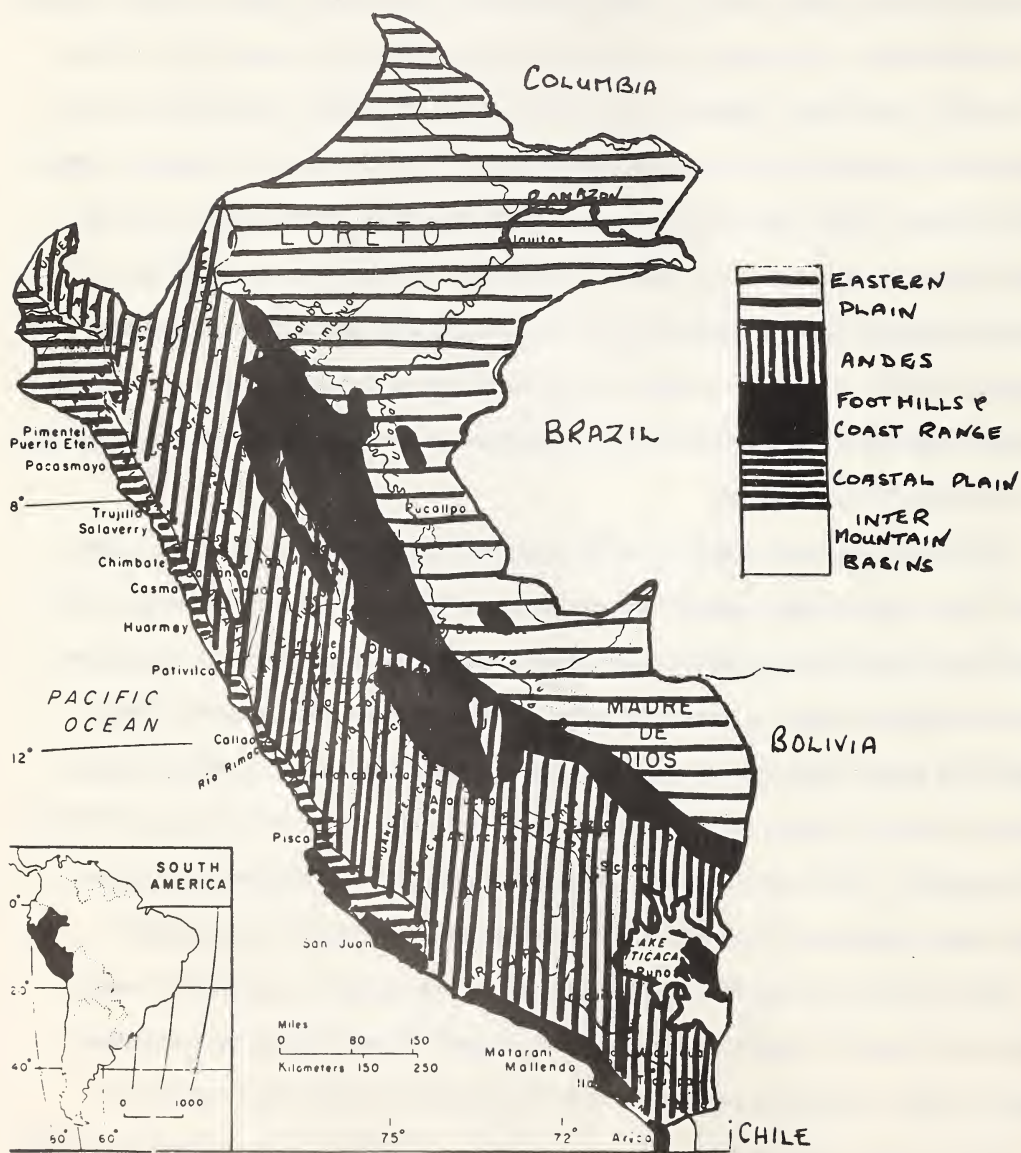
It is difficult to imagine a land which appears less likely to nurture a highly organized American Indian empire than that which lies athwart the Central Andes of South America. In the Old World, civilizations arose based on the fertility of the great river valleys of the Nile, the Tigris - Euphrates, the Indus and the Hoang-Ho, where the land was flat and the supply of water generally predictable. Here, by means of irrigation canals or by drainage works, fertile lands, unencumbered by heavy forest growth, offered ample returns of grains and vegetables to the farmer. Surplus food was available to support a priestly class, a horde of civil servants, artisans and craftsmen, and most important of all, an army to overawe the peasants and to threaten neighbors. In short, all the trappings of the civilized state were supported on the physical conditions related to the productivity of the soil.

In contrast, the land of Peru is for the most part inhospitable to man. The eastern half of the country drops steeply from the Andes to the headwaters of the Amazon tributaries and thence into the dense tropical rain forests which are even yet unexplored and unoccupied except for wandering tribes of forest Indians. Above these tropical forests the eastern slopes are sharply dissected by many streams into a maze of sharp ridges divided by streams which abound in water falls and rapids and are hence difficult of navigation. The lower slopes are clothed with dense forests mingled with savannas and coarse grass lands which are in turn succeeded by a zone of short grass lands.

This area has not been effectively occupied and settlement is confined to two or three locations. The ancient Incas rarely penetrated this area except on occasional punitive raids, though they did trade with the Indians for various forest products.

Of the western half of Peru, fully nine tenths is a highland region comprising a high level plateau varying in height from ten to fifteen thousand feet above sea level over

PHYSICAL FEATURES



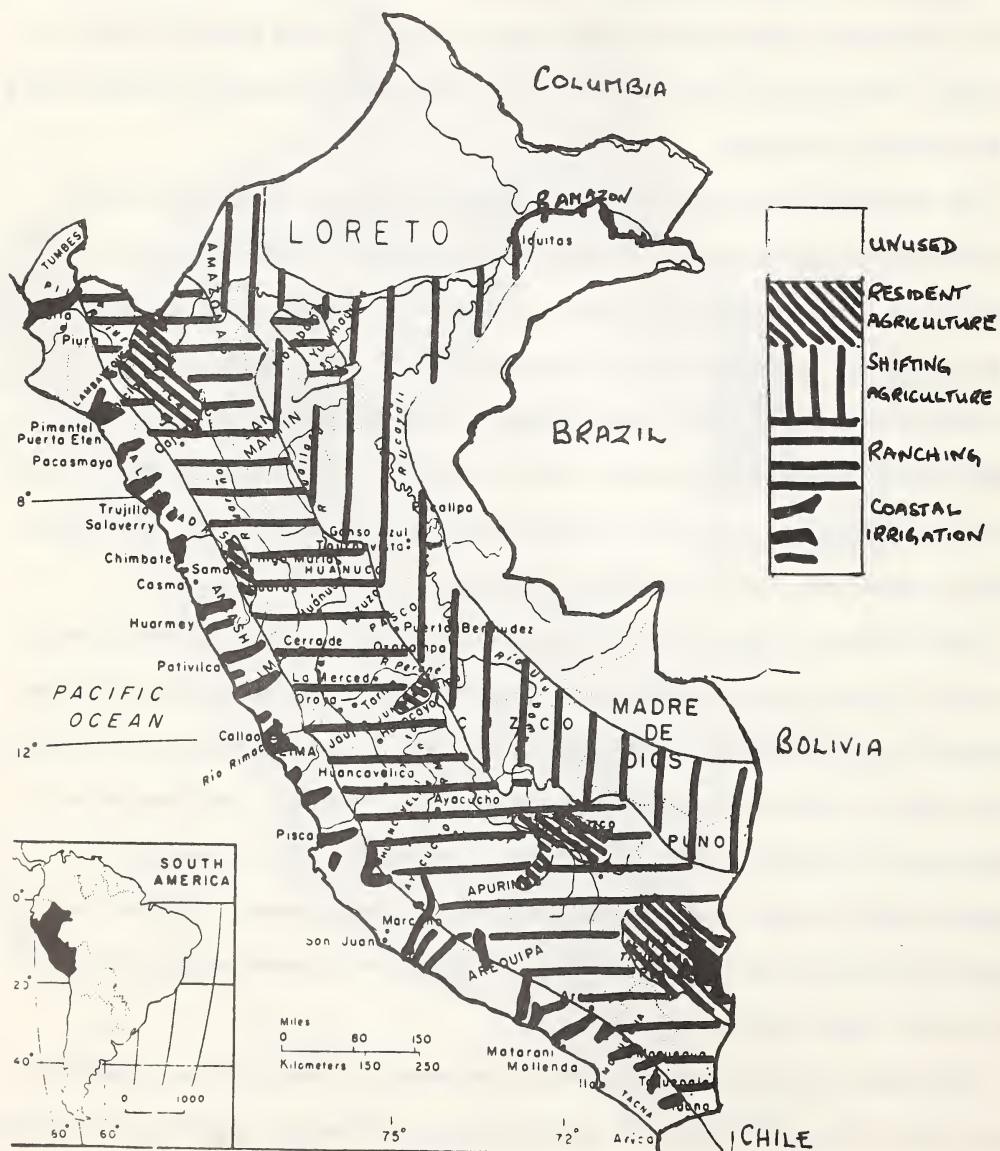
which flows sluggish but wide streams. Above this level rise serried groups of Alpine peaks to a height of eighteen to twenty thousand feet and which exhibit typical features of mountain glaciation--moraines, U-shaped valleys, cols and cirques. Through this plateau are cut stupendous steep-sided canyons twice as deep as the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in which run rivers which fluctuate rapidly in speed and depth dependent on the season. In the period of rains these rivers rise by more than fifty feet in a few days. There are small river flats in these canyons which are rarely cultivated owing to the difficulty of access.

The vegetation in this mountain region varies with the altitude and the rainfall. On the eastern slopes the limit of tree growth lies at about 11,000 feet above which altitude is a zone of grasses and shrubs. In the north the typical vegetation is known as the "paramos," composed of bunch grasses mixed with taller plants and brush. To the south, where the rainfall is less, the vegetation is of a desert type (puna) with widely spaced clumps of grass mixed with low, stalkless, hairy leaved plants. This land is too poor to support cattle, but is suitable for the grazing of the llamas and alpacas, and in modern times, for the pasturing of sheep.

The third great division of Peru is the coastal region. In the northern two thirds of the coast is a sandy desert varying in width up to eighty miles. The southern third has a range of coastal mountain abutting against the sea. Through this desert run some forty river valleys, rather more numerous in the north than in the south, fed from the melting snows of the Andes, which source is frequently insufficient in volume for the streams to reach the sea. For part of the year they dry out en route. Elsewhere the coastal lands are barren--without any form of vegetation. In some locations there is no record of rain having ever fallen.

The cause of this lack of rainfall lies in the presence of the cold Peru Coastal Current which wells up from the ocean depths and moves northward, some fifty or a hundred miles wide, up the coast. This current cools the prevailing south and southwest winds

LAND USAGE



so that this cool air forms a stable layer against the surface of the sea, though at times it gives rise to heavy fogs. Over the land the air is warmed and becomes progressively less humid until it is forced upward by the Andes mountains or the coast range where a heavy mist soaks the soil above 2,500 feet in altitude.

The Coastal Current is incredibly rich in microscopic organisms. This basic resource supports immense schools of small fish which are preyed upon by larger fish and by enormous numbers of pelicans, gannets and other sea birds. These myriads of birds nest on coastal islands and promontories and deposit thousands of tons of nitrogenous guano which hardens into rock-like concretions. In the absence of any appreciable rainfall this valuable fertilizer is preserved for the use of man.

The coastal oases were favorable areas for the settlement of primitive man, combining proximity to the ocean's abundant marine and bird life, with fertile soil and a supply of water which, although only plentiful in the rainy season between December and March, was readily stored behind dams and distributed to the fields by means of irrigation canals.

Of the three areas of Peru a person familiar with the rise of the great civilizations of Asia would observe that the eastern forested slopes would doubtless support a small population by hunting and some subsistence agriculture after the fashion of the interior of Malaya; that the mountain region would, given a hardy breed of domesticated animal, permit of pastoral nomadism on the Thibetan model; and that the coastal region might foster the growth of some petty villages, supporting the inhabitants on fish and corn, but with expansion severely limited by the surrounding desert and the capacity of the water storage dams. If a choice had to be made of the three zones, this student might recollect that Indo China, Central America and Ceylon, forested areas all, had supported important civilizations, and that Arabia, Asia Minor and Palestine, all desert areas, had also fostered important advances in human history. But the Andean highlands, which can be compared only with those Thibet, would be considered the least

likely zone of Peru or, indeed, of South America, to be the seat of a great empire. Yet this was so. In the space of one century a small state has expanded from its nucleus around Cuzco to conquer, occupy and organize an empire as large as the Atlantic Coast of the United States; an area comprising parts of modern Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, the northern half of Chile, and parts of western Argentina. At the climax of this great expansion it was conquered by an intrepid but ruffianly ex-swineherd from Estremadura with less than two hundred followers. The conquest was substantially completed in a "battle" that lasted thirty three minutes by the clock.

Descriptions of the Country

The Coastal Current by W.A. Robinson

The sea itself was a Neptune's broth of undulating red—alive with the microscopic plant life that enriches the Humboldt. Vast areas here and there were churned to a froth where tremendous schools of small fish (we later learned that they were anchovies) were attacked from below by rushing hordes of larger fish and lobos (sea lions) and from above by hysterical flocks of birds who threw themselves into the churning mess until the water was alive with anchovies, larger fish and birds. In between the areas of carnage the sea was coated with white acres of fresh droppings from other gorged flocks that hovered overhead. We could see no land but we knew the bird islands were close at hand. The birds about us were new to us. The great Humboldt pelican, so different from the little brown pelican of Panama, Ecuador, and elsewhere. Streaming flocks of cormorants. Javelin-like piqueros. The gulls that followed our wake were Antarctic gulls, new to us. The flying fish were gone, and the rays and the tropical birds we knew so well; the magnificent fork-tailed man-o' war, the lovely bo'sun bird... these had strayed down with us into the thinning waters of the Humboldt along the coast as far as Peru. But now we were in the real domain of the current and they were no longer with us.

The Coast by Bartolomeo Ruiz about 1530

When you no longer see any trees, you are in Peru.

The Coastal Plain by George Woodcock

In the middle distance, turning to the valley their blind and broken walls, the ruins of fortresses stood between the hills; their colour was the same as that of the ochrous slopes around them, but the sharp blue shadows they cast threw into relief their crumbling cubes and rectangles. The newest of them was at least five centuries old, but the rainless, frostless climate of the Peruvian desert had preserved these structures of mud with astonishing completeness. The Peruvians call all such monuments by the name of huacas,

and this suggestive word from the ancient Quechua language of the Incas means not only the shrine or fortress itself, but also the immanent mystery which the observer senses and acknowledges.

The hills among which the huacas were built closed steadily upon the valley as we travelled eastward... The hills stood in sharp relief, defined by shadow and light, their steep sides rising to blunt and rounded tops over which the pelyons marched like black skeletons from the power stations in the mountains. They were the most barren hills I had ever seen, more barren than Mexico, more barren than the burning deserts of Arizona, where one sees at least the scattered cacti that keep alive by storing the moisture of rare rainfalls. Here there were not even cacti. The slopes of shaly stone was unrelieved by the least shoot of green, and their extraordinary aridity emphasized the narrowness and vulnerability of the fertile lands beside the river. A few years of neglect of the irrigation ditches which the generations of Indian and Spanish farmers have used for a millennium, and the desert would return, as it has returned in other Peruvian valleys once cultivated by prehistoric peoples, lapping in its dessicating tide down to the very cane-brakes along the river banks.

The Andes Mountains by Hiram Bingham

At times the trail was so steep that it was easier to go on all fours than to attempt to walk erect. Occasionally we crossed streams in front of waterfalls on slippery logs or treacherous little foot bridges. Roughly constructed ladders led us over steep cliffs. Although the hillside was too precipitous to allow much forest growth, no small part of the labour of making the path had been the work of cutting through dense underbrush and bamboo thickets.

As we mounted, the view of the valley became more and more magnificent. Nowhere had I ever witnessed such beauty and grandeur as was here displayed. The white torrent of the Apurimac rages through the canyon thousands of feet below us. Where its sides were not sheer precipices or scarred by recent avalanches, the steep slopes were covered with green foliage and luxuriant flowers. From the hill-tops near us other slopes rose six thousand feet above to glaciers and white capped summits. The whole range of the White mountains or the Great Smokies of Tennessee and North Carolina could have been placed on the floor of this great valley and not come much more than half way to the top. In the distance, as far as we could see, a maze of hills, valleys, tropical jungle and snow peaks held the imagination as though by a spell.

The Upper Amazon Basin by H.E. Bates

The rainy season had now set in over the region through which the great river flows; the sand banks and all the lower lands were already under water, and the tearing current, two or three miles in breadth, bore along a continuous line of uprooted trees and islets of floating plants. The prospect was most melancholy; no sound was heard but the dull murmur of the waters; the coast which we travelled all day was encumbered every step of the way with fallen trees which quivered in the currents which set around projecting points of land. Our old pest, the Motuca (flies) began to torment us as soon as the sun gained power in the morning. White egrets were plentiful at the edge of the water, and humming birds, in some places, were whirring about the

flowers overhead. The desolate appearance of the landscape increased after sunset, when the moon rose in mist...The whole region through which the river and its affluents flow, after leaving the easternmost ridges of the Andes... is a vast plain, about 1,000 miles in length, and five or six hundred in breadth, covered with one uniform, lofty, impervious and humid forest. The soil is nowhere sandy, but always either a stiff clay, alluvium, or vegetable mould, which later, in many places, is seen in water worn sections of the river banks to be twenty or thirty feet in depth. With such a soil and climate, the luxuriance of vegetation, and the abundance and beauty of animal forms, which are already so great in the region nearer the Atlantic, increase on the upper river.

The Climates of Peru

The climatic regimes of the three zones of Peru may be deduced from the temperature and rainfall figures for Iquitos, in the Amazon basin; Cuzco, in the mountain zone; and Lima, in the west coast desert. Figures for Edmonton are also given as a basis for comparison.

Temperature and Rainfall Data

Station	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Iquitos T°	77.5	78.3	76.3	77.0	75.6	74.3	74.1	76.3	76.3	77.2	78.4	77.9
Alt. R.	10.0	10.6	12.0	6.6	9.7	7.3	6.5	4.5	8.8	7.1	8.5	11.3
348'												
Lima T°	72.6	74.3	73.6	70.2	66.0	62.6	61.2	61.0	61.3	63.0	65.7	69.6
Alt. R.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.1
518'												
Cuzco T°	52.5	52.2	52.0	51.4	50.5	48.4	46.9	49.8	51.6	52.9	53.8	52.2
Alt. R.	6.4	5.9	4.3	2.0	.6	.2	.4	.4	1.0	2.6	3.0	5.4
11,089'												
Edmonton T°	8	11	23	40	52	58	63	60	51	41	24	12
Alt. R.	.9	.8	.9	1.1	1.8	3.0	3.1	2.3	1.2	.3	.9	.9
2,219'												

The most important determinant of climate is evidently the Andes mountains which govern the temperature and also affect the rainfall.

Mountain Sickness

described by Joseph Barcroft

Unlike ascents on the Alps, the element of cold may be ruled out as constituting a possible cause of the sickness of the passengers who reach Ticlio (altitude 15,585 feet) for the trains are warmed to a very comfortable temperature. It must be admitted that when first I passed over this summit I was occupied in keeping very quiet lest I should sick myself--an effort which proved to be abortive, for while I was not actually sick in the train, the crisis came two or three hours later when I left the train at an altitude of 12,000 feet. On the occasion of my second crossing I was in a better position to observe my neighbours. Looking out at Ticlio I saw the most astonishing spectacle; all along the train from the windows of the carriages occupied by the Hoi polloi, a row of heads protruded from the windows--the outward and visible sign of a single purpose, that of regurgitation.

Effects of Altitude on the Complexion

by Joseph Barcroft

There was at Cerro an engineer whose cheeks were of a very high colour; on the mountains he had a purplish, almost apoplectic appearance. Such a general appearance has been known to result from alcoholic excesses. He came down to Lima on the train with us, and when we saw him about half way down quite a new vision burst on our eyes. Here was a man with the fresh, rosy complexion of a child, a man whose skin was so delicate that the colour conferred upon it by the blood in its capillaries was shown up to perfection. To say that he was a "cross between a chameleon and a barometer" would be undignified, so I shall avoid the phrase and adopt some more lengthy way of expressing my meaning which is that just as the chameleon passes through all the shades of one particular colour, say from light yellow to dark brown, or through light green through dark green to something nearly approaching black, so this man passed from purple to a bright pink, the blue tinge which he had at Cerro becoming less and less accentuated with each thousand feet which he descended.

Altitude and the Boiling Point of Water

by C. Darwin

Under the diminished pressure (in the Andes Mountains) of course water boils at a lower temperature; in consequence of this the potatoes after boiling for some hours were as hard as ever; the pot was left on the fire all night, but yet the potatoes were not softened. I found out this, by overhearing in the morning my companions discussing the cause; they came to the simple conclusion that "the cursed pot (which was a new one) did not choose to boil the potatoes."

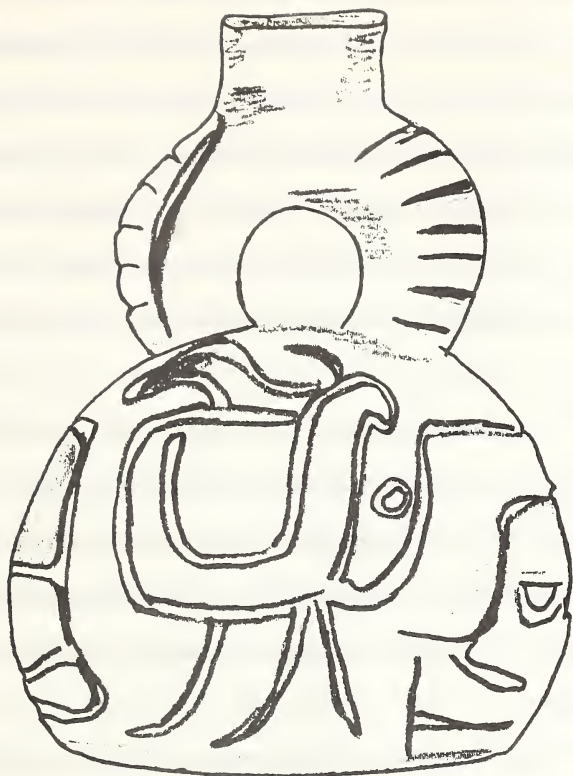
CHAPTER II

PERU BEFORE THE INCAS

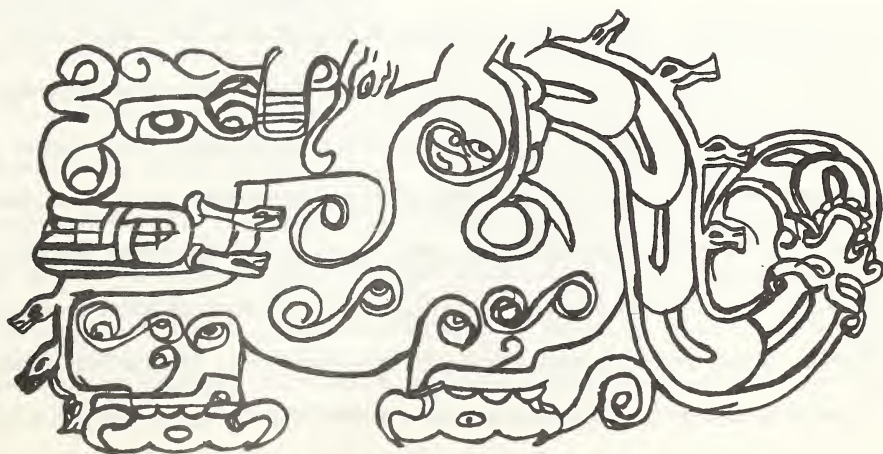
Whereas the history of the Old World civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia, at least in the sense that the historical period implies the existence of written record, is some five thousand years old, the history of Peru begins in A.D. 1532, when Pizarro entered the realms of the Inca. The Incas had no written records, nor had their predecessors. The knotted cords which the Spaniards took to be a system of recording data, and on which savants in later times have expended much ingenuity, appear to have been somewhat complicated aids to the memories of professional messengers, clerks and archivists. In some cases the memories that were invoked by the Quipu knots were false, since the Incas, desiring to magnify their accomplishments, deliberately suppressed all knowledge of the cultures that preceded them and insisted on an "authorized version" of history being promulgated throughout their dominions. Thus the Spanish conquistadores who collected and collated the stories of the conquered peoples of Peru were misled into believing that before the Incas, the Indians lived in complete savagery.

This view of Peruvian history is now known to be completely false. The Incas do not appear to have been innovators except in the extent of their conquests and perhaps in the organization of their civilization. They were inferior in their pottery and weaving to what others had previously done; the great advances in agriculture--plant domestication, animal domestication, terracing of hillsides--ante-dated the Incas by thousands of years. The Inca altered the scale of activity and also the intensity, but they built on foundations laid by others.

Without any written records of Pre-Inca civilizations, no dates in Peruvian history are absolute. The names by which the various pre-literate cultures are identified now are taken from the names of villages or natural features near to where excavations were



STIRRUP SPOUT JAR, CHAVIN PERIOD



FELINE GOD INCISED IN STONE AT CHAVIN

carried out, and serve merely as labels. The whole of the body of pre-Inca culture and history has been the result of archeological stratigraphy, painstakingly peeling off layer after layer of sand and soil from ancient sites, noting the designs of pottery, the shape of tools, the number and types of plant seeds and animal bones and testing organic remains in the various horizons by means of Carbon 14 tests to give approximate absolute dates to the strata. Since this latter technique results in the destruction of the material tested, it is not used with much frequency where the materials are either scarce or valuable in other ways.

As has been said before, there is no evidence which suggests that man originated in America. There are no fossils or relics of man-like creatures on this continent such as have been found in the Old World. The anthropoid apes, the nearest relatives, from the muscular and skeletal point of view, to homo sapiens, have never been found in the Americas. No human remains have been found here which are older than the latter part of the Late Glacial period.

The American Indian is similar to the Mongolian peoples of Asia in respect of hair colouration, teeth structure, epicanthal fold of the eyelids, and in resistance to cold, and evidently migrated from Asia via the Bering Straits in Glacial times.

No accurate dates of man's arrival in Alaska are yet available, since there was no mass exodus from Asia like that of the Israelites from Egypt, but rather successive drifting of families or small tribes over a period of thousands of years. Such carbon 14 tests as have been made from materials gathered in Alaska give dates much more modern than those found in the central United States. Man certainly arrived in the Americas before 20,000 B.C. and may have been here by 40,000 B.C. if charred bones found in Denton County, Texas, are truly associated with human activity. The earliest dated site of the presence of man in Patagonia is a cave where tests on bones and carbon from fires give a result of about 9,000 B.C. In Peru, caves at the headwaters of the Marañon River near Lauricocha at a height of over 13,000 feet have yielded the bones of deer

and cameloids with some stone points and scrapers. The radio carbon date for the lowest remains was about 7,500 B.C.

The earliest men in Peru were primitive hunters of the now extinct giant sloth armadillo, horse, and the guanaco. It seems likely that such hunters entered Peru by following the highland plateaux from the north, since passage at lower levels on the east or west would have meant forcing a way through thick tropical jungles where game would be difficult of approach and the climate oppressive. From the highlands the rivers could be followed to the west until the coast was reached, with its abundance of fish, molluscs, birds and sea lions. In such river valley oases, with the assured supply of food and fresh water, permanent settlements would begin to form, and from the annual collection of seeds and roots would develop the beginnings of agriculture. By 2,000 B.C. the people were cultivating squash, gourds, beans and cotton in narrow strips along the river banks, but depended largely on the sea for the staple foods. They had as yet no pottery nor metal nor any domesticated animal apart from the dog. Their houses were small, dug into the ground, walled with pebbles and roofed with timbers and whale bones. Cloth was made from pounded or shredded bark.

The Formative Period C1250-850 B.C.

On the north desert coast of Peru by 1200 B.C. man had discovered pottery and weaving. The pottery was plain and utilitarian, being without decoration, but it at least enabled the women to cook directly over a fire instead of dropping heated stones into a gourd filled with water and food. Corn and manioc were cultivated. The buildings sometimes had walls of sundried adobe instead of water-worn pebbles set in mud. The early formative period is taken as ending about 850 B.C. when the style of pottery and weaving changed and imposing buildings were constructed of dressed stone.

The Cultist Period C850-500 B.C.

During this period a single religious cult spread over much of Peru, focussed on representations in stone of a Cat god--probably the puma which roamed both the highland and the lowlands. While the cult had several notable centres, the most famous is that of Chavin de Huantar in the northern highlands, where the ruins cover an area over eight hundred feet square. The buildings are massively constructed of granite, limestone and andesite blocks, covered in low relief with pictures of pumas, hawks, eagles, alligators and snakes in highly stylized forms. The buildings are a maze of galleries, stairways, ramps and chambers. The Chavin culture apparently began in the highlands and spread later to the coast. It is possible that the religion was forced on the ancient Peruvians by migrants from Mexico, since cat-god sculptures and stirrup-spout jars which are typical of the period have also been excavated near Mexico City.

Alternative theories have the Chavin culture originating in the Amazon valley and brought to the coast via the Andes, or originating in the Cupisnique valley of the northern coast and thence carried to the highlands. Some view the Chavin culture as a genuine pre-Inca empire while others suggest that it is merely the expression of a widely diffused religion.

By the time that the Chavin culture was mature, considerable changes had been made in the living conditions of the people. Corn was now a staple food, though it still had not been much improved by seed selection and crossbreeding with other strains. Avocados and manioc were cultivated and probably some primitive irrigation systems were evolving. Llamas were brought down from the highlands to the coast and were employed as beasts of burden or sacrificed at religious ceremonies. Houses were built of adobe bricks on raised stone platforms and the roofs were covered with a thick thatch. The dead were buried in their best clothes with jewellery and pots containing food and drink. It is from such graves, preserved from decay by the dryness of the climate, that archeologists have pieced together the tentative outlines of Peruvian history.

Ornaments of gold, silver and copper, ascribed to this period, exhibit various features of the metal workers art--annealing, welding, embossing, soldering and manufacture of bi-metallic objects. Apparently casting of metals in a mould was as yet unknown. Clubs, spears and daggers were the chief weapons of war and the chase. The massive buildings afford evidence of voluntary or forced labour on the part of multitudes of men, evidently organized by an over-riding authority--a chief priest or a conqueror.

The Experimental Period C3000 B.C.-A.D. 200

In this period the unifying cat-god cult seems to have disappeared abruptly and each local centre developed its own style of art. Irrigation works were becoming extensive along the coast, and in the highlands stone-faced terraces were built and backed with earth laborously carried from lower elevations to extend the area of cultivable land. Llamas were common in the highlands and were familiar sights on the coast. More plants were cultivated, including quinoa and beans, while beer was being made from fermented chewed corn. In some areas skulls were deformed by tight bindings in infancy. The principal development in this period seems to have been in agriculture.

The Florescent Period C.A.D. 200-600

This era is so named because in the opinion of archeologists the economy, technology and art of the Peruvian cultures here reached their fullest development. The two native cultures which have been best revealed by excavation were at Moche on the northern coast and at Nazca on the south coast. In contrast to the earlier coastal cultures, the Mochica had established an empire which extended over several river valleys. While the sea still provided fish, birds and sea lions, the basis of existence was agriculture. Irrigation works were now on a very large scale. Aqueducts nearly a mile long and involving the use of a million cubic yards of earth carried water across river valleys. Canals up to seventy miles in length tapped the headwaters of streams and

bore the water to the farm lands. Corn, beans, peanuts, avocados, potatoes, sweet potatoes, gourds, cotton, pineapple, pumpkins, and coca were developed and cultivated, as well as a number of plants known only in South America. The land was tilled by the digging stick (a pointed stick with a cross bar used as a foot rest) and guano fertilizer was used to stimulate growth.

Villages were now expanded to the size of cities; houses were larger and more comfortable, though still built of adobe brick. Public works were on an enormous scale. The great Huaca del Sol (Temple of the Sun) was built on a base seven hundred and fifty feet long and four hundred and fifty feet wide. The temple rose in five distinct terraces to a stepped pyramid three hundred and forty feet square at the southern end. In the construction it is estimated that 130,000,000 adobe bricks were used.



HUACA DEL SOL (COASTAL DESERT)

Clothing was generally of rectangular pieces of woven cloth. Skirts and shirts were worn with the breechcloth. Turban head dresses were common; some of them were heavily decorated with feathers, stuffed birds and ornaments of gold and silver. Foot wear was not common.

Although much progress had been made in metallurgy, the main field of art of the Mochica culture was in ceramics. The stirrup spouted jar was still the basic design, but the body of the jar was modified away from the utilitarian to include representations of houses, boats, vegetables and portraits. On other jars, scenes of daily life were painted and afford data which would otherwise be unobtainable. Production of cloth and pottery appears to have been on a factory basis; at least one jar illustrates a chief, reclining under a sunshade, directing the activities of a row of female weavers. Different styles of clothing were distinctive of social rank; leaders were carried in litters and sat on high for meals.

The Mochica state appears to have been aggressive to its neighbours and authoritative to its citizens. There was a ruling class, a strong army, a disciplinary code which permitted mutilation, flogging and stoning, a messenger service, and a road system which foreshadowed the later organization of the Incas.

The Expansionist Period CA.D. 600-1,000

This period is characterized by aggression and conquest among several groups, possibly as the result of a more cohesive political organization having evolved, which could regiment the populations either for public works or external warfare. It ended with the establishment in the highlands at Tihuanaco of the seat of a culture equal to any found on the coast at that time.

Tihuanaco is in the southern highlands a short distance south of Lake Titicaca at an elevation of 13,000 feet. The area is in the puna country, where piercing winds blow over the short grasses, and trees are almost unknown. The economic possibilities

are limited to the grazing of llamas and alpacas, and to the cultivation of potatoes and some hardy grains.

As is usual in the highlands, the ruins are made of worked stone; some are of enormous size, weighing up to one hundred tons. The structures are in general pyramidal or raised platforms bordered by upright monoliths of large size. Masonry is held together by the accuracy of the cutting, by tenon like joints and by copper clamps fitted into T-shaped notches. Massive monolithic statues have been found at Tihuanaco, the largest being twenty four feet tall and carved from red sandstone. The design is both formal and forbidding.

The Urbanist Period CA.D. 1000-1440

Toward A.D. 1100 the Tihuanaco culture declined and three large political units formed on the coast. At Chanchan on the northern coast, near the present city of Trujillo, was the capital of the Chimu empire; the central section of the coast, north and south of the present city of Lima was controlled by the Cuzimancu empire; and to the south in the neighbourhood of the Paracas peninsula was the smaller and weaker Chincha state.

Each of these units developed large urban centres; Chanchan contained over eleven square miles of buildings. Such large cities were naturally built in the irrigated lowlands. At the points where the streams issued from the mountains large fortresses were built to control these strategic locations. The fortress at Paramonga was built of adobe brick on the top of a scarped hill top. It had five successive defensive walls, each higher than the one exterior to it, and was flanked with defensive bastions of geometric form which much resemble these of seventeenth century Europe.

The Chimu state survived into the days of the Incas, and was the last native state of Peru to resist the Inca arms. Chimu was a military state, highly disciplined and knit together by an extensive system of roads. It may have been that in conquering, the

Incas learned many of their techniques of government from the Chimu.

Sufficient has been recorded to illustrate the fact that the Inca civilization did not spring full grown from its highland fastnesses to bring enlightenment to the remaining areas. The Incas fastened an indelible imprint on Peruvian culture, but this print was not stamped on a formless mass. The Inca genius lay more in expansion and reorganization of what had gone before than in any claim to innovation. The Inca rulers were exceptional in that most were extremely able administrators, and each seemed to carry on the policy of his predecessor toward the achievement of a commonly accepted goal.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF THE INCAS

The Beginning - Myths and Legends

Soon after the conquest of Peru, efforts were made to record the history of the Incas. No report available to these chroniclers mentioned more than thirteen emperors; and the accounts of the origin of the Inca were clearly mythological. According to the natives, the list of the emperors was as follows:

1. Manco Capac (C A.D. 1200)
2. Sinchi Roca
3. Lloque Yupanqui
4. Mayta Capac
5. Capac Yupanqui
6. Inca Roca
7. Yahuar Huacac
8. Viracocha Inca
9. Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui (1438 - 71)
10. Topa Inca Yupanqui (1471 - 93)
11. Huayna Capac (1493 - 1525)
12. Huascar (1525 - 32)
13. Atahualpa (1532 - 3)

The first eight emperors are of little historical importance, and it was only with the accession of Pachacuti that the expansion of the Inca empire began.

Various legends explain the coming of the Incas to the site of their capital at Cuzco. One has it that Manco Capac with his three brothers and four sisters issued from caverns in a hill and led a number of family groups (who issued from other caves) toward the

valley of Cuzco. On the way the three brothers were disposed of by various means, and Manco made his way to a site where a golden staff which he carried sank into the ground, indicating some depth of soil. Here the Inco settled, dispossessing the original inhabitants.

Alternatively, according to the half-Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, the Sun god, pitying the brutish condition of the Indians, decided to send two of his children, Manco and his sister Mama Occello, to bring to these poor wretches the benefits of religion, law, architecture and agriculture. Accordingly he set the divine pair down on the shores of Lake Titicaca and provided them with a rod of gold some two feet long and two fingers in width. Where, plunged into the earth with a single thrust, the rod disappeared, the children of the god were to establish their court. At Cuzco this event occurred, and Manco and his sister taught to the local Indians the arts of tilling the soil, irrigating the fields, and selecting the seed. His sister taught the arts of weaving and spinning.

The natives prospered exceedingly and were joined by others who desired to share the increased comforts now available. Those who did not come of their own accord were subjugated by means of the bows, arrows, lances and clubs which Manco had taught his followers to make and use.

These accounts are not supported by archeology. The evidence is that the Incas were in no way different in their arts or crafts from the tribes among whom they lived, or whom they displaced or conquered. It is generally accepted that nothing reliable is known of Manco Capac. Of his son Sinchi Roca, the legends have it that he was peacefully inclined and added nothing to his father's realm; of Lloque Yupanqui, that he also was undistinguished in war. Mayta Capac was supposed to have been born with a full set of teeth, and fought with big boys when he was two years old. At maturity he fought with his neighbours and was invariably victorious. These wars were probably petty local raids, although the legends have him making great conquests. The fifth emperor, selected

because his elder brother was ugly, advanced the state borders outside the valley of Cuzco some dozen miles. His son Inca Roca also made occasional war and expanded the realm. The seventh emperor, Yahuar Huacac, was captured as a youth by neighbouring Huayllaca tribesmen and returned after several years' captivity, which illustrates the lack of predominance of the empire at that time. Apparently a cautious, if not cowardly ruler, he had capable relatives who made war in his name.

Viracocha Inca was the first emperor to plan the permanent subjugation of his neighbours and the incorporation of their inhabitants in his social system. He was the last of the legendary emperors, and died before the work had advanced much. His son Pachacuti, after deposing a half brother, became Inca about A.D. 1438, and proceeded with single-minded thoroughness to attack all the non-Inca tribes that his armies could reach.

He turned first on the people with whom the Incas had warred previously, in the immediate environs of Cuzco. Those who did not surrender immediately were attacked and, according to the legends, all except children and old women were killed. The motive may have been to exterminate all who might transmit to their descendants any memories of the days when their tribe had contended successfully with the Incas. He extended his conquests to the north, west and south, but once away from the Cuzco area, he spared the conquered populations, drafting the men into his army, and probably inaugurated the practice of Mitima (transplanting defeated tribes to other parts of the empire) at this time, so that potential rebels were isolated and insulated from sources of support. As he grew older, Pachacuti delegated the campaigns of his armies to his brothers and to his son Topa Inca, and busied himself with the building of temples, palaces and forts in the environs of Cuzco.

The first large scale campaign of Topa Inca was far to the north in modern Ecuador, where the Quito (near the modern city of Quito) were a force to be reckoned with. Subduing the intervening centres, Topa Inca marched on the Quito and after a bitter

struggle defeated them. On his way back, hearing of some islands in the Pacific Ocean which were reputed to be well populated and rich in gold, he dispatched an expedition on a fleet of balsa wood rafts to investigate and take possession. The enterprise was successful, and returned with dark-skinned prisoners, gold and silver, and the hides of animals. It is possible that the islands visited at this time were the Galapagos Islands, where in 1953 pottery was discovered that bore some resemblance to that found in the Chimu area.

Chimu itself was the one remaining civilized state within the sphere of influence of the Incas. The frontiers had been fortified on the side fronting Cuzco, but the Inca advanced from the north whence attack was unexpected. After some fighting, the ruler of the Chimu surrendered and the Inca proceeded southward along the coast adding the small valley oasis city states to his "bag". In A.D. 1471 Pachacuti abdicated in favour of his son, and died a few years later.

Topa Inca struck into the tropical forests east of the mountains where he sought to curb the raids made sporadically by the forest Indians against the frontiers. He was descending the Madre de Dios river in an immense fleet of canoes when he was called back to suppress a revolt in the neighbourhood of Lake Titicaca. This was soon accomplished, and he then conquered the highlands of Bolivia, and turned southward into northern Chile as far as the modern city of Constitucion. Here was drawn the most southerly extension of the Inca Empire.

Growing old, Topa Inca retired to a palace and devoted himself to architecture and administration. Naming Huayna Capac as his successor, he died in 1493. He and his father had extended the empire by one thousand per cent in some thirty years. Topa Inca contributed several administrative innovations to the social organization of the empire. It appears that he was the first Inca to set up the pyramidal decimal system of officials. He deposed all hereditary chieftains and replaced them with his own appointees so that every ten family units had an official responsible for them, and each

such ten officials were controlled by another. He had a census made of the entire empire, its peoples, animals, crops soils and mines. The introduction of the threefold division of the land, one part for the people, one part for the Inca and his relatives, and one part for the religious community and its needs is ascribed to him. Dying at the age of eighty five, he left an empire now almost too large to administrate by one man dependent on slow and uncertain communications.

Huayna Capac reigned thirty two years, spending them in travel and war. His campaigns were in the tropical jungles in the north east and on the borders of Columbia. Late in his reign he heard, by devious and inaccurate means, of white men to the north, in Panama, and of foreign expeditions off the coasts. At the time of his death he had resided in Quito for some years, affected by ill health, and accompanied by his favourite son, Atahualpa.

Two years before his death report has it that certain signs heralded the dissolution of the Inca Empire. At the great annual feast of the Sun, a royal eagle appeared in the sky, pursued by buzzards. The eagle was attacked by the lesser birds and sustained such wounds that it fell at the feet of the Inca. The soothsayers interpreted this as a foreboding of evil. There followed great earth quakes and tidal waves, and numerous comets streaked across the skies. A feeling of awe and depression fell over Peru. On one bright night the moon came up surrounded by three large rings; the outermost was the colour of blood; the middle one was a greenish black; the innermost seemed to be made of smoke. According to Garsilaso, the soothsayers interpreted this as follows:

My Lord, know you that your mother the Moon, who is always merciful, warns you that the Great Pachamac, creator and supporter of the entire universe, threatens your blood and your Empire with great trials that he will soon visit upon us. For this first blood coloured ring, surrounding your mother, means that a very cruel war will break out among your descendants after you will have departed to rest beside your Father the Sun; your royal blood will be shed in such streams that after a few years nothing will remain of it. The black ring threatens our religion, our laws and our empire, which will not survive these wars and the death of your people; all you have done, and all your ancestors have done, will vanish in smoke, as is shown by the third ring.

The Inca was alarmed, surrounded himself with the most powerful elements of his army commanded by the most capable and loyal generals, and made countless sacrifices to the Sun. Nothing happened and gradually the people grew more calm. But the Inca remained convinced of the truth of the prophesy.

After bathing in a lake one day he seems to have contracted pneumonia and the end approached rapidly. Summoning his relations about him he gave directions for the disposal of his remains, passed on the rule to his legal heir Huascar in Cuzco, but possibly allotted the kingdom of Quito to his favorite son Atahualpa. De la Vega says that the dying emperor then summoned all his captains and rulers and spoke as follows:

"Our father the Sun disclosed to us a long time ago that we should be twelve Incas, his own sons, to reign on this earth; and that then new, hitherto unknown people would arrive: that they would obtain victory and subject all of our kingdoms to their empire. I think that the people who came recently to our shores are the ones referred to. They are strong powerful men who will outstrip you in everything. The reign of the twelve Incas ends with me. I can therefore certify to you that these people will return shortly after I have left you, and that they will accomplish all that our Father the Sun predicted they would: they will conquer our empire and become its only lords. I order you to obey and serve them, as one should serve those who are superior in every way; because their law will be better than ours, and their weapons will be more powerful and invincible than yours. Dwell in peace; my Father the Sun is calling me I shall go now and rest at his side."

This account is unfortunately unreliable, but it seems to parallel those predictions made in Mexico to the Aztec rulers prior to the landing of Cortez.

For five years the brothers Atahualpa and Huascar remained at their respective capitals of Quito and Cuzco, Atahualpa acknowledging the overlordship of Huascar. Eventually there arose mutual distrust and the several forces mobilized for battle.

Atahualpa had much the better fortunes, prepared as he was with the flower of his father's army and the most experienced generals. Huascar was defeated at the final battle at Cotabamba on the Apurimac river near Cuzco and was taken prisoner; his relatives were executed along with his chief friends and supporters. Atahualpa, who had prudently left the campaign to be conducted by his generals Quisquis and Challcuchima,

while he remained in the north, equally ready to flee or to accept the submission of his brother, was preparing to move to Cuzco to take the imperial throne when he heard of the landing of Pizarro near Tumbez. The year was A.D. 1532.

CHAPTER IV

THE INCA EMPIRE AT THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST

Agriculture

Long before the days of the Incas, the native tribes of the highlands had reduced the wild game of the area to the point where it could not be relied on as a source of food; such animals as the guanaco and vicuna were also protected as the sole property of the Inca. The economic base of the empire depended on cultivation of the soil and on animal herding. Given the wide differences in climatic and soil types in Peru it is natural that a variety of crops could be grown and must be grown to afford an efficient scheme of land utilization. Above the altitude of 14,000 feet no agriculture was possible and the land was devoted to grazing. Between 11,000 and 14,000 feet potatoes, quinoa (a rice-like plant), and some other distinctively Peruvian plants were grown. Below 11,000 feet maize was cultivated, and as lower levels were reached, the possible list of crops included squash, beans, cotton, tomatoes, manioc, sweet potato and peanuts.

The Inca calendar indicated the appropriate activities for each month:

January--Work in the potato fields.

February--Protect the fields against foxes and deer.

March--Protect the fields against birds.

April--The crops are ripe, protect against thieves.

May--Harvest the corn.

June--Dig up the potatoes.

July--Crops are taken to the state granaries.

August--Till the fields; the Inca turns the first sod.

September--The corn is sown.

October--The young corn begins to sprout.

November--The month of drought, fields must be irrigated.

December--Potatoes and quinoa are planted.

The tools used in tillage were simple. A wooden digging stick about the height of a man, with a hand grip at the top and a cross piece about eighteen inches from the bottom, was carved into a rough spade shape at the bottom. This turned up the soil, while the women removed weeds and broke up clods with clubs. Bronze bladed hoes, also wielded by the women, completed the farming equipment.



DIGGING THE FIELDS

The system of land tenure was peculiar. Each family had an area of land allotted, varying in size according to the productivity of the soil, which was just sufficient for adequate maintenance. As children appeared, the allotment was increased; as deaths occurred, so it was diminished. But the Indian farmer was not solely concerned with his own fields. The Inca had decreed a three fold division of the land; first the lands of the Inca (state properties) were tilled and planted, then those of the Sun (state religious holdings) were cultivated; then the farmer was free to attend to his own fields. The work was communal, and was preceded by a festival of dancing and sacrifice. The men worked in lines, sweeping steadily across the fields to the accompaniment of working songs. Those peasants who were absent on working details for the empire, and those who were too old or too sick to work, or serving in the army were not neglected. Their allotment of land was tilled, seeded and harvested for them. There was in this system no possibility of individual advancement or of increased comfort as a result of more careful practices; a surplus one year would result in decreased holdings in the succeeding year. On the other hand, no person in all the land was allowed to suffer want. In times of poor harvest or of other misfortune, a full measure of the necessities of life was available from the state granaries and clothing magazines, so that the deficit was fully made up and not in any spirit of grudging charity.

— The shortage of arable land was partly remedied by the construction of gigantic terraces, sometimes cut out of the solid hillside and filled with soil carried (with incredible toil) from other areas. These terraces were, in Inca times, constructed by the state, and employed state architects and the services of labourers who thus paid their work taxes to the empire. The terraces were finely engineered so that one stream of water introduced at the top fed the whole system.

On the coast and near it, natural fertilizers--guano, sardines and fish heads--were employed to increase the yield. In the mountain areas, such material was not available. The dried dung of the llamas and alpacas, though suitable for such usage, was

generally used as a fuel, since trees were both scarce and reserved for state building projects.

Animal Herding

South America is and was fortunate in possessing animals which are large and suitable to domestication. The American cameloids number four: the llama, alpaca, vicuna and the guanaco. Camels and llamas are of one family, which may have originated in Mexico and spread north to Asia and Africa as camels. In South America the cameloids were driven higher and higher into the Andes by predators and became smaller in the evolutionary process of centuries.

The Guanaco and the Vicuna are wild cameloids. The llama and the alpaca are both descended from the guanaco, though the alpaca is smaller than the llama, having been bred specially for the long fine silky hair on its neck and body, of which it was shorn every two years to yield eleven to fifteen pounds of wool. The llama stands up to four feet high at the shoulder and is at maximum about eight feet long. The neck is long; the head is small with erect and inward curving ears. The tail is short and carried high, covered with drooping long hair. The legs are thin; the two toes have short strong talon-like nails. The alpaca is similar in general conformation but slighter in build, while its hair is much longer. In both animals the colour is varied; white, black, yellow and brown are found. The llama and the alpaca can interbreed but the offspring are sterile.

Since the llamas are very sure footed and able to exist well on the coarsest vegetation, they are suited to use as pack animals in the mountains. They are very docile, but can only carry a load of about one hundred pounds for about ten miles daily, though they will travel over the most precipitous ground without any necessity for driving, provided that the first animal is guided. Each village settlement (ayllu) had its own llama herd of which the number was recorded. Additionally, large numbers were used

as pack animals for the state. They were only killed at festivals, and were only shorn after death, when the coarse greasy wool was used for rough fabrics. Alpaca herds supplied the fibres for common clothing, though again the state and the religious taxes left the peasant or the herder with only enough for adequate coverage. The wild guanaco was hunted in the communal hunts organized under the direction of the Inca lords and supplied meat to the peasants. The wild vicuna, about the size of a goat, was trapped in these hunts, and after being shorn of its fleece, was released. The incredibly fine hair was reserved for the service of the Inca.

There are various estimates of the numbers of domesticated llamas in Peru at the time of the conquest, but a reasonable average appears to be about eight millions. At present there are about five hundred thousand of these animals in existence.

Besides the cameloids, the Incas had domesticated the dog, the duck and the guinea-pig. The former was a pet and a scavenger, but was rarely eaten; the ducks were a domesticated wild variety about which little is known; the guinea-pig was the chief source of meat for the commoners. It breeds rapidly, lives on scraps, and is reputed to be palatable.

Cookery

Fire was usually made by the wooden fire-drill twirled between the hands, though some reference has been made to the use of a gold or silver bowl which focussed the rays of the sun on a piece of tinder. Most food was boiled in pottery vessels or roasted directly over a fire. The typical meal was then of soups or stews. Corn was dried and then ground under a flat heavy semi-circular stone resting on a larger flat block. Porridge was a staple meal. Corn was also eaten in the ear, either boiled or roasted. The process of leavening dough with yeast was unknown, so that soft bread was not introduced until the days of the Spaniards. In the highlands, potatoes were allowed to freeze overnight. In the morning the potatoes thawed into a mush that was trodden

underfoot. The process was repeated for five consecutive days, producing a white potato flour which would keep indefinitely at those altitudes. Cookery was usually done out of doors, though stoves of stone or clay were occasionally used inside. Meals were taken at sunrise, at mid-day and between four and five o'clock. The preferred drink was Chicha, a mildly intoxicating but thick and muddy fluid prepared by boiling corn. This softened corn was then chewed by the women and spat into bowls of tepid water; the mass was then set aside for some time, when the salivary enzymes converted the starch in the corn to malt sugar, then into dextrose and finally into alcohol. Great quantities of this unattractive fluid were consumed at festivals when all were expected to drink themselves into insensibility. An additional vice to which the natives of Peru were and are addicted was the chewing of coca. Leaves of the coca plant were picked, dried and carried in bags. It was chewed mixed with lime, made from burnt sea shells. The leaves contain the active principal of cocaine, and the drug allays thirst, weariness and hunger.

Clothing

A variety of materials and styles were found in the Inca empire as suited the climate and the fibres available. On the coast cotton was used; in the highlands, wool. The breech cloth was ubiquitous, and composed of a strip of cloth passing between the legs, under a belt in front and rear, and hanging down before and behind. A sleeveless tunic made of a rectangular piece of cloth, doubled, and sewn up with gaps left for the head and arms covered the native to the knees. A large cloak worn over the shoulders completed the male costume. Women wore a long one piece dress reaching to the ankles and bound at the waist by a wide sash. Both sexes wore ornaments, both woven into the cloth and manufactured of copper, silver or gold. Men often wore ear plugs of modest size, bracelets, medals and necklaces of teeth of their enemies.

Taxes and Work Services

The basic unit of social organization in Peru and in the highlands generally was the ayllu, an extended family group living together in a restricted area and owning land, animals and crops in common. Each was ruled by an elected leader and guided by a council of elders. The Incas systematized the ayllus and gave them a distinctive decimal organization. Each ten able bodied workers or purics was theoretically controlled by a foreman; each ten foremen by a "boss" of higher rank; each ten "bosses" by a higher officer. This would have been largely unworkable and subject to constant change and it appears likely that theory was modified by practice. The empire was divided into four provinces, over which was placed a governor who was usually related to the ruling Inca. The post of governor was not inherited, which militated against the formation of a separatist feudal class of barons. Beneath him were nobles, those of the highest rank commanding about ten thousand purics and their families; the least commanding one hundred families. Lesser functionaries were locally appointed. The officers of intermediate rank were often local chiefs who had sworn allegiance to the Inca, and whose sons were being educated at the capital and also served as security for the behaviour of the parent. Each level of official rendered accounts of births, deaths, crops, animals, famines and the like, and administered a measure of law according to his degree of importance. It should be noted that if any person stole food or clothing from necessity, he was unpunished; but the force of the law was directed against the official responsible for allowing him to descend to such straits; that official suffered the sentence that would have been exacted had the theft been occasioned by malice.

The able bodied worker was liable to two forms of taxation; the first has been mentioned and consists of the communal cultivation of the fields assigned to the State and to the religion, the harvesting and storage of the crops and products of the herds. The other form was compulsory work service on state projects, such as the construction of

roads, temples, palaces, terraces, or extraction of ores from the state mines. This latter service was unpopular and the miners were rotated after short periods of work. Certain villages or groups had specialized work services to perform. Villages situated near canyons may have been allotted the duty of keeping the bridge cables in repair; others may have had to send a number of men to undergo the training that would fit them for long distance message-carrying; yet others who had special skills in pottery or metal-work would be required to contribute specimens of their arts and crafts. All able bodied men were trained for service in the militia, and underwent drills each year. Others were recruited into the regular forces.

Craftsmen in general were exempted from other forms of taxation; they were regarded as being in the service of the state and were largely maintained at the public expense.

The women were also liable to a form of state service. At the age of ten years, girls were inspected by government officials and the most beautiful were sent to be educated in convents at the provincial capitals where they were instructed in the arts of weaving, cooking, beer-making and religion. They were called the "acllacuna" or Chosen Women. They were liable to be sacrificed at important ceremonials, but such spectacles were uncommon. After their education was completed, the girls again were inspected. Some were reserved for the service of the Inca; others were given to favorite nobles as secondary wives; others were attached to the service of the temples, where they wove clothing for the priests and prepared chicha for the festivals.

War and Politics

While warfare was endemic in South America it did not assume the character of a national policy until the expansion of the Inca empire. There were inter-tribal raids and occasional larger expeditions, but the aim was to capture loot and slaves rather than to occupy territory, and still less to incorporate the enemy population within the

civil organization of the victors. The aim of the early Incas was to seek personal fame and power by extending the empire and its population; later, since the generals were often relatives of the ruling Inca, it may have been politic to ensure that the army chiefs were fully occupied on the frontiers lest they should turn their ambitions inward and overthrow the ruler as was the habit of the Romans.

While the Inca tribes around the nuclear state at Cuzco had begun the course of conquest, it is apparent that the prodigious expansion of the empire in the fifteenth century could only have been accomplished by the incorporation in the army of troops drawn from recently conquered areas. The Inca people probably supplied the superior officers and an Imperial Guard to the later armies. The mode of fighting was based on hand to hand encounters with clubs, heavy wooden broadswords, pikes, spears and battle axes. The bow, although known and used by the forest Indians of the Amazon slopes was not employed as a missile weapon in the army. Spears were not hurled but employed as stabbing weapons much as were the Zulu assegais. The sling and the bolas were the long range arms of the Incas; the former was a doubled wool band with a pocket to hold a stone about the size of an apple. It was whirled around the head and then one end was released, flinging the stone with great force and considerable accuracy. The bolas consisted of three stones of the size of a fist, cased in leather and connected with thongs about five feet in length. This weapon was whirled about the head and then released. On striking an object, the thongs and weights would wrap themselves about it, cutting into the flesh of a man or an animal, and even breaking bones. It was primarily a hunting weapon used against larger game.

The Inca armies were brought into battle in an orderly formation but, after the sling and bolas had been thrown, all organization ceased and the fight degenerated into a series of single combats. No tactical manoeuvring was attempted after the battle had been joined. Siege operations were fairly common, but assaults on the walls of cities were rare, the Incas preferring to surround the walls and wait for shortage of supplies

to force a surrender. The policy of the Inca generals was to negotiate a surrender wherever possible, even in intervals between episodes of battle. The terms of peace were generous; no wholesale proscriptions or massacres followed defeat. The defeated gods of the new territories were honoured in Cuzco; the benefits of the Inca storehouses were available to alleviate distress; the vanquished chiefs were retained in positions of honour while their sons were educated in Cuzco and their daughter married to relatives of the Inca.

Following the incorporation of a new province in the empire, a strict count was made of the population by age groups, the soil was reported on, the number and types of crops, and the numbers of domestic animals. A relief map in clay was built by surveyors, accurately representing the topography of the land. From this roads were planned and constructed, terraces were designed to add to the area of arable land; public works and temples added to the benefits derived by the conquered from the skills and resources of the conquerors.

Certain other prudent measures were taken to ensure the permanence of the Inca victory. Where the resistance had been fierce and the surrender appeared to show more of despair than of joy in sharing the government of the Inca, wholesale resettlement of the peoples was carried out. They were moved to an otherwise suitable and similar area where they were surrounded by pacific and contented populations. This wholesale shuffling of tribes was intended to destroy the particularness of the parts of the empire and unify the population. The process was aided by a decree that all officials should speak the Queshua language of the Incas, and to that purpose schoolmasters were sent to all areas. Thus the various tribes began to lose their traditions, their language and their sense of attachment to an ancestral locality; however, they still worshipped their local gods (in conjunction with that of the Inca), and while they were induced to wear the Inca costume, permission was given that local and distinctive head dresses could still be retained.

Crime and Justice

Since all property was, at least in theory, held by the Inca, offences were generally treated as crimes against the state if material possessions were involved. Crimes against the person constituted the other general class of offense. Treason, rebellion, theft from state or religious lands or stores, burning bridges, or entertaining the Chosen Women was punishable by death; the method employed varied from hanging and stoning to throwing the offenders over cliffs. Lesser crimes were laziness and drunkenness, since these were regarded as thefts, from the state, of the workers' labour. For these and similar crimes, the culprit was rebuked, and if the offense was repeated, he was stoned or executed. Crimes committed by nobles were more severely punished than if they were committed by commoners.

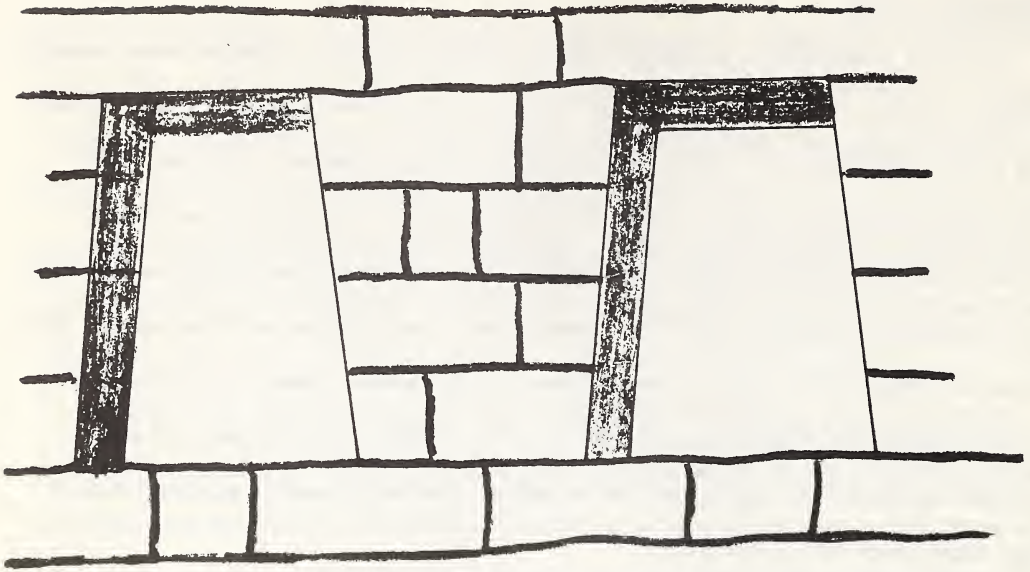
It was generally admitted by the Spanish conquerors that the people of the Inca empire were exceptionally honest and well behaved. Whether this was from fear of punishment or derived from a social system that prevented want and rendered theft for personal gain unnecessary, cannot be established.

Architecture and Public Works

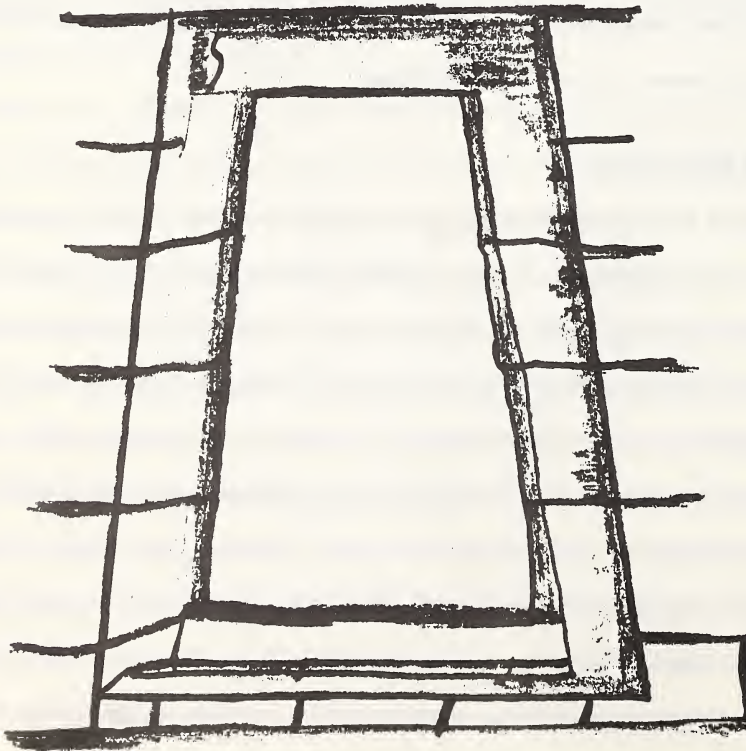
The dwellings of the common people may be quickly described. On the coast huts were made of adobe; in the highlands, of stone chinked with mud; and on the eastern slopes wood was the usual building material. The huts were simple, with the one room lacking both windows and chimney. The smoke from the fires filtered through the thatched and gabled roof. Pegs driven into the walls held up clothing and implements. There was no furniture in the European sense. The doorway was covered with a mat or hide.

The public buildings were impressive both in their size and in the quality of construction. The most common stones used were limestone, andesite and diorite, usually cut into polygonal blocks and fitted closely together in irregular courses. Slabs were pried from the outcroppings of building stone by sinking wooden wedges along cracks and faults, and then wetting the wedges which expanded and pried the slabs loose.

TYPICAL INCA STYLES IN STONEMWORK



INCA TRAPEZOIDAL WINDOW



RECESSED TRAPEZOIDAL DOORWAY

The chief tool used in shaping the building stones was the stone celt, though chisels and hammers were made of hard bronze in later periods. The fitting of the polygonal pieces in the walls appears to have been accomplished by setting them in place, and rubbing them back and forward in situ on a layer of moistened sand until the pieces fitted accurately together. Buildings were generally one storey high and thatched with straw, though occasional structures of two or even three storeys were built. The common hall mark of Inca architecture was the trapezoidal window or door niche, narrower at the top than at the base, and often recessed.

Planning was evidently done from a clay model jointly laid out by architects, surveyors and craftsmen. The stones were hauled from the quarries and hewn to shape on the site. The heavier pieces were apparently hauled by main force up earth ramps to the desired location and were there cut or ground to size by repeated trial and error. The only surveying or levelling instrument so far discovered appears to have been the plumb-bob.

The walls of the chief palaces and temples were sometimes covered by thin sheets of gold which lent to the interiors an indescribable appearance of barbaric opulence, though the Spanish conquerors were often disappointed at the small volume of gold obtained when these decorations were melted down.

Roads and Bridges

With the Romans, the Incas were the great road builders of history; but whereas the Romans built their roads so as to allow of the transportation of supplies by wheeled vehicles, the Incas, journeying on foot or accompanied by pack animals, did not require such uniform surfacing as is necessary for the passage of carts, chariots and coaches. Again it was for this reason that the Incas did not grade the approaches to hills, but ascended them by means of steps.

The two main highways were the highland or "royal" road, which ran through the

Andes on the Columbia frontier, through Cuzco and south east to Tucuman in Argentina, and the coastal road which began at Tumbex in Latitude 3° South and ran through the desert to the southern limit of the empire in central Chile. Transverse roads connected these two systems by convenient valleys, and minor roads gave access to the smaller villages. The entire network extended to some ten thousand miles of all weather surface.

The coastal road was from obvious causes the wider, and was built to a standard width of twenty four feet. The road was walled at both sides to prevent sand drifting across it and to confine traffic and marching armies to the route. "Mile" stones were set up every four and a half miles, and at convenient distances the government erected rest houses, stables and food magazines under the care of appointed officers. When the Inca travelled, royal "tambos" were built and elegantly furnished at the major cities for his use.

The roads through the highlands were much narrower, averaging some three feet in width. They zig-zagged up hills, were carried on causeways over marshes, over streams on stone bridges, and in some places penetrated through mountains in tunnels. Major rivers were surmounted by a variety of means. Some were crossed on pontoon bridges, the "pontoons" being either rafts or canoes; others were crossed on suspension bridges, particularly where a deep and narrow canyon was involved.

These suspension bridges were made of twisted or braided vines or fibre ropes which, usually five in number, were up to sixteen inches in diameter and up to one hundred and ninety feet long. Three of the fibre ropes formed the floor, and were bound together with cross sticks and floored with matting, while two others served as hand rails with vines lacing them to the floor. The bridges sagged badly, and swayed in high winds but were adequate for the passage of foot travellers and pack animals. The entire bridge was replaced about every two years. The famous "Bridge of San Luis Rey" over the Apurimac river was of this type. On infrequented routes passengers could be carried

over rivers in baskets hung from a cable and pulled in either direction by attendants.



THE INSPECTOR OF BRIDGES

Over these roads and bridges the government organized a postal service. Every mile along the network were two small shelters where two men were in constant attendance. If a runner appeared, one of the men learned his message, generally reinforced by a

quipu, and ran at top speed to the next post, where he handed over to the next man. Each runner, as he bore his message on, was at once replaced by another trained man. This was a form of work tax; the men were trained not only in running, but also in the understanding of the quipu system. They served for fifteen days annually. The speed of transmission depended much on the difficulties of the route, but varied from one hundred and forty to two hundred miles in twenty four hours.



THE CHASQUI RUNNER

Boats and Rafts

Both on Lake Titicaca and on the coast boats of canoe form were built of totora reeds lashed together to form a hull, which however, was not noticeably hollow in form. The smaller boats were light enough to be carried by one man; on them the boatman sat astride much in the fashion of a person riding a horse. Sails were made of flattened reeds in the form of a mat and supported on masts. In northern Peru sea-going rafts of balsa logs were used. The logs were floated down the rivers to the coast where the rafts were made up of seven to nine large logs arranged so that the stern of the raft was square and the prow pointed. The raft was bound together with ropes and furnished with a mast and oars. Centre boards were used so as to make the craft self-steering as is explained in Heyerdahl's book "Kon Tiki". A central platform allowed of some shelter to the crew. These rafts could undertake long voyages and may have visited Easter Island or penetrated even further into the western Pacific. For shorter voyages the on-and-off-shore winds were perfectly reliable and took fishermen out to sea in the evening and back in the morning.

The Quipu

The quipu is made of a main horizontal string to which are attached up to a hundred hanging strings of different colours and twists. These may be fastened to the main cord in groups and subsidiary strings may in turn be attached to them. On the pendant strings knots of different sizes, colours and positions are tied, which indicate by colour the nature of the subject recorded while the knots indicate number in a decimal system; the higher numbers being recorded nearest to the main cord. All quipus had to be accompanied by a verbal comment which alone made them intelligible. Pedro de Cieza de Leon in 1541 states:

Each ruler of a province was provided with accountants and by these knots they kept account of what tribute was to be paid...and with such accuracy that not so much as a pair of sandals would be missing.

I was incredulous concerning this system of accounting and although I

had heard it described, I held the greater part of the story to be fabulous. But when I was in Marca Vilca I asked one of them to explain the Quipu in such a way that my curiosity would be satisfied... The Quipu-camayoc (official rememberer) proceeded to make the thing clear to me; he knew all that had been delivered to Francisco Pizarro, without fault or omission, since his arrival in Peru. Thus I saw all the accounts for the gold, the silver, the clothes, the corn, the llamas and other things, so that in truth I was astonished.

The priests of the sixteenth century, believing that the quipus were books of the



A SECRETARY OF THE INCA

devil, burned the quipu archives and discouraged the art of interpreting them so that there is now no way of deciphering their contents.

The Inca

The Inca was the head of all temporal and spiritual power in the empire. He ruled by divine right tempered by the power of custom and as a god incarnate on earth. It would seem that the majority of the Inca rulers were genuinely concerned for the welfare of their subjects, and that this concern was the prime and constant objective. In the early years it had been the custom for the Inca to marry the daughter of one of neighbouring princes, but for several generations it had been usual for the Inca to wed his own sister; since the Inca practiced polygamy, this could probably mean that his spouse may well have been a half-sister. The same practice prevailed among the Pharaohs, and as with them, and contrary to folk lore and religious beliefs, it seemed to result in a line of capable and intelligent rulers.

There did not seem to be a rule of accession whereby the eldest son succeeded to the throne; rather the emperor named his successor from among the sons of his favorite wife, and after observing their prowess and acumen in campaigns and councils. When the heir approached puberty he suffered arduous trials to establish his eligibility for official recognition as a man. The manhood ceremonies began with a fast period of six days, during which any complaint or request for food was punished by expulsion. This was followed by a race of about five miles, in which the first ten youths were accorded honours. At other times the boys were divided into two camps and attacked or defended fixed positions with training weapons. Later, they were put through athletic exercises with the spear, discus, slings and other arms. They were beaten with canes to test their resistance to suffering. At the end of the tests, the successful candidates were presented with the insignia of manhood—a breech cloth, sandals of soft wool. Their ears were pierced by a golden bodkin in the hands of the Inca himself,

and through the holes in the lobes heavy earrings were placed and increased in weight so that the cartilage was stretched to incredible lengths. The crown prince was given a fringed yellow band to wear about his brows and was presented with a new battle axe of halberd form; the whole ceremony bore much resemblance to that of knighthood in the later Middle Ages in Europe.

On the death of the Inca the new ruler fasted for three days before assuming the crown while the body of the late ruler was being mummified. The crown proper was a scarlet fringe across the brows in which was inserted two feathers from the wings of a rare bird. An expedition was sent to obtain these feathers, and if for any reason they were not forthcoming, the coronation had to be postponed.

The new Inca always built a new palace in Cuzco to which he moved his augmented household; as the Inca he acquired a number of secondary wives from reasons of state or personal preference, and he was afforded additional solace from the ranks of the Chosen Women if such was needed. Considerable state now surrounded him. The highest nobles entered his presence bearing light but symbolic burdens on their backs, and prostrated themselves before him on seeking interviews; the lesser people conversed with him behind a screen which shielded the august presence from the vulgar gaze. He ate from golden dishes and never wore the same clothes twice. The Inca rarely walked, but was borne on his journeys across the empire in a magnificent litter ornamented with gold and silver and fitted with curtains to shield him from dust and sun.

The Inca was committed to many years of travel and inspection of the parts of his empire since he alone was the head of the executive pyramid. On his journeys he punished lax officials and rewarded the zealous, inquired into the state of the storehouses and resources, sent supplies to districts suffering from crop failures, and performed religious ceremonies.

Each year the Inca selected one of the four provinces as the venue of the royal hunt. Thirty thousand or more men were assembled in a circle encompassing a circumference



THE INCA AND HIS QUEEN IN THE ROYAL PALANQUIN

of sixty or so miles. The circle was gradually contracted so that the animals were hemmed in a small area, entirely surrounded by many ranks of beaters. The predators such as the puma, bears, foxes and cats were killed on the spot. Of the deer and guanacos the females and the finest young males were released, while the oldest were slaughtered and the meat divided among the beaters. The released vicunas and guanacos

were shorn of their fleeces before being set free. The meat of the animals was dried by the peasants so that it did not have to be consumed at once.

Religion

The Incas supported a state religion, and expressed their beliefs in many rituals and ceremonies. The chief purposes were to ensure the growth of crops and to cure the sick and to foretell the future by the reading of omens.

The supreme deity was the Creator, usually known as Viracocha; after the creation of the world he did not interfere with human destinies. He was however expected to return to the earth at an unknown date much in the same manner as the Aztecs expected Quetzalcoatl to return. Pizarro was identified in some Inca minds as the returning god Viracocha as Cortez was assumed by the Aztecs to be Quetzalcoatl; both invasions were thus facilitated by a species of superstitious awe compounded by a sense of guilt.

The Inca state religion was associated with worship of the Sun, the source of light and heat which controlled the crops. The image took the form of a golden disc in the principal temples, representing a smiling human face with surrounding rays.

The priesthood was graded; the High Priest was invariably a brother, uncle or relative of the Inca and resided in Cuzco. He was assisted by a council of nine high ranking but lesser priests who were responsible for large areas. The clergy of the lower rank were not state supported and their offices were hereditary.

The duties of priests were to care for the sacred vessels and images, to hear confessions and impose penances, to make divinations, to cure the sick and to make sacrifices. The Spanish clergy of colonial days were much astounded by the similarity of the Inca religion to that of the Catholic Church, and many ingenious attempts were made to account for it.

Ritual sacrifice was made in public ceremony. A llama, usually black or brown in

colour, for two colours were held to indicate an impurity or imperfection, was led to face the image of the Sun or lesser god, and was then held by four men while the priest opened the living animal's side behind the ribs and pulled out the lungs and heart. If these organs were throbbing when the operation was complete, the prospects were held to be good. Human sacrifices were rare; on important occasions such as the crowning of an emperor, the beginning of a war, or of famine or plague, young boys and girls were sacrificed by having their throats cut. The girls were selected as the most perfect specimens of the "Chosen Women." Occasionally war captives were killed in celebration of a notable victory.

Cuzco was the centre of organized religion. Here the Sun was greeted daily by a sacrifice of special food which was burned in a fire of carved wood; the priests ate the portion that was "surplus to requirements." On the first day of each month one hundred llamas were killed, quartered and completely burned, when the priests scattered the ashes and intoned appropriate incantations. Each month ceremonies were held in connection with the prevalent agricultural activities; these more rustic rites were the occasion for singing, dancing and the consumption of much beer.

CHAPTER V

THE SPANISH CONQUEST

In the late fifteenth century Columbus discovered a New World by chance; believing that the circumference of the globe was some thousands of miles less than its true measure, and perhaps encouraged by hearing on his previous northern voyages of tales of the Norse expeditions to Vinland, he sailed westward under the flag of Spain to the islands of the Caribbean. In successive voyages the Spanish took possession of these fertile islands, enslaved and converted the Indians and pressed westward to the mainland. Cortez conquered the Aztec Empire with the aid of some rebellious Tlascalan Indians after many hazardous experiences and turns of fortune. The newly discovered lands were parcelled out into a number of governments, each of which had license to extend its rule by exploration and conquest. To these lands were attracted a number of restless spirits; younger sons of the gentry in search of estates and gold, old soldiers attracted by tales of sudden wealth, ruffians wanted by the law; in the main valiant, unscrupulous and intolerant men, prepared to undergo any hardship and to commit any crime that would lead them to fortune.

Among these men was Francisco Pizarro. He was born illegitimately to a Colonel Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisca Gonzales in 1471 in Truxillo, a town in Estremadura. For a time he appears to have followed the occupation of swineherd, but he is first noticed on the pages of history in 1510 on the island of Hispaniola. He took part in Balboa's journey across the Isthmus of Panama in 1511, and in other expeditions where he gained in reputation and wealth. In the period until 1522 the Spaniards directed their attention toward north and west of Panama, attracted by the great successes of Cortez in Mexico, though persistent rumours had reached the Spaniards of a mighty empire to the south where gold was so cheap and plentiful that men ate from golden plates. In 1522 an expedition under Pascual de Andagoya was directed to the south but

was forced to return owing to the poor health of the commander, bearing with it more substantial and accurate accounts of this rich southerly land.

Three men in Panama, acting in association, then decided to fit out an armada to investigate these stories; Pizarro, one of the most respected commanders of the colonies, Diego de Almagro, another soldier of fortune with a notably short temper, and Hernando de Lluque, a churchman who controlled such funds as alone would make the enterprise possible. Pizarro was to take command. He sought and obtained permission from the governor, and fitted out two small vessels manned by about a hundred Spaniards.

The force set out in November 1524 and reached the mouth of the river Biru, which from its name was held to be within the domain of the Inca. Ascending the river for some miles, the soldiers disembarked and set out to explore. The country was swampy and wooded while the heat was oppressive. Food was scarce and no sign of towns or roads was found, so the men were re-embarked and again sailed to the south. A great storm arose and the ships almost sank; the force returned some distance to the north for wood and water. Here Pizarro tried in vain to have the men set forth southward once more. In the end half the company set sail to the north for provisions while Pizarro, fearing that to return without result would mean financial ruin, remained with the rest of the company.

In this desolate spot, sustained by shellfish and such vegetables, nuts and fruits as they dare eat, Pizarro tried to maintain the spirits of his men as the weeks went by. In spite of his cheerful and untiring efforts twenty of his men had died when report was made of a light observed in the distance. Moving in that direction he discovered a small Indian village where he obtained supplies of maize and coconuts. The natives told Pizarro that some ten days' travel across the mountains lay the realm of a mighty king whose lands were then being invaded by the armies of a yet mightier monarch. (This was the invasion of the Quito empire by Huayna Capac that was thus disclosed)

After six weeks the ships returned with provisions and Pizarro again set sail south-

ward where he found the land less wooded and more open to observation. A petty village inhabited by cannibals was attacked and gave up a good store of food and some golden ornaments. Further to the south appeared some roads cut through the woods, and following these trails he came on a substantial town from which the inhabitants had fled. An advance party was sent out to explore the area and was attacked by the Indians who were repulsed with some difficulty. The Indians then attacked the main force of Spaniards with storms of arrows and darts. Pizarro was singled out as the leader and was conspicuous for his valour. The advance party returned at an opportune time in the rear of the attackers and soon dispersed them. It was then decided that the expedition would return northward to a safe place and inform the governor of Panama of the brilliant prospects opened up by the expedition, and seek for reinforcements and supplies on the strength of the gold thus far collected. Pizarro's associate Almagro had also fitted out a boat and followed on Pizarro's track, tracing him by marks cut on trees at suitable locations on the coast. He burned the town where Pizarro had been attacked and collected even more gold. Hearing of his partner's whereabouts, he was reunited with him at Chicama, where they pledged themselves as Christian gentlemen to continue the quest to the death. Pizarro remained where he was, while Almagro returned to Panama where Lluque and the governor might give aid, and where more desperate men-at-arms, seeing the gold so far obtained, might seek to join the expedition.

At Panama the governor was displeased with the results so far displayed, and was reluctantly persuaded by Lluque and Almagro to allow men and supplies to go forward, but being somewhat annoyed by the loss of men suffered under the command of Pizarro, he named Almagro as the equal of Pizarro in subsequent movements. Pizarro was not happy with this apparent demotion and returned to Panama, where he, Almagro and Lluque affixed their names to a solemn contract by which their future relations should be governed. This contract, after some religious preambles, stated that the partners had full authority to subdue the lands to the south of the Gulf, and that they mutually

bound themselves to divide equally the whole of any captured territories and its treasures; gold, silver, precious stones, vassal Indians and emoluments. The two captains swore to pursue the undertaking to its successful completion and to reimburse Lluque for his advances, holding all their goods as security for this pledge. The oath was sworn with every solemn covenant provided for by religion and by law and attested by three respectable citizens of Panama. It also appeared that Lluque was not a principal to this contract; the funds which he had hitherto provided were not his own, but those of the Alcalde Gaspar de Espinosa of Darien, who obtained a magnificent return on the initial investment of 20,000 pesos.

Two larger vessels were speedily fitted out and manned by some one hundred and sixty men, piloted by one Bartholomew Ruiz. The ships stood well out to sea and made landfall at the farthest point south previously reached by Almagro, where the men were landed and took a small village. Seeing that the country was becoming more populated, it was decided that Pizarro was to remain where he was, that Almagro should return with the gold taken from the local villages to gain more reinforcements in Panama, and that Ruiz should take the one remaining ship and explore to the south.

Ruiz stood off along the coast, avoiding any hostilities and crossed the equator. He discovered a large balsa raft at sea manned by Indians who wore finely woven cloth garments and possessed some cleverly wrought gold and silver articles. The Indians came from Tumbez which they described as having many flocks of wool-bearing animals and abundant gold and silver. Some Indians were taken off to allow them to learn Castilian that they might act as interpreters in the future, and the rest were allowed to proceed. Soon afterward Ruiz returned to Pizarro whom he found in sorry circumstances.

Pizarro had attempted to explore the interior and had marched through dense forests to the foothills of the Andes, crossing steep cliffs, fording streams, assailed by the Indians and tormented by insects. The party returned in despair, to be met by Ruiz

and soon after, by Almagro, who brought food, supplies and eighty men.

Once again the party set out along the coast, sailing far to the south of the limit of Ruiz' last voyage. At the port of Tacamez the Spaniards saw a town of two thousand houses where gold was plentiful; a party mounted on horses was landed, to be greeted with the appearance of some ten thousand warriors ready for immediate hostilities. It would have been difficult for Pizarro to have cut his way through this force of Indians had not an unforeseen accident occurred. A Spanish horseman fell from his restive charger, and the Indians, seeing what had appeared to them to have been one animal splitting into two entities, were so disconcerted that they broke up in disorder and allowed the Spaniards to make their way back to the ships.

Again there was a council of war. The Indian population of the Peruvian coast was dense enough to suggest the impropriety of attempting a conquest without very substantial reinforcements. It was agreed that again Almagro should return to Panama for aid, while Pizarro should await his return in a secure location. The island of Gallo was selected as a rendezvous; Almagro sailed north, soon to be followed by the remaining ship which was in need of repair. At Panama the new governor, Pedro de los Rios, resolved to abandon the attempt to explore and conquer the legendary and apparently illusory Peruvian empire and sent vessels to Gallo with invitations, if not instructions, that Pizarro should return to Panama. Pizarro's men were in favour of evacuation, but Pizarro was still adamant. Drawing a line on the sand, he addressed his comrades as follows:

"Friends and comrades," said he turning to the south, "on that side are toil, hunger, nakedness, the drenching storm, desertion, and death; on this side ease and pleasure. There lies Peru and its riches; here, Panama and poverty. Choose, each man, what best becomes a brave Castilian. For my part, I go to the south." With these words he stepped across the line to the south, followed by Ruiz, Pedro de Candia and eleven others. The commander of the relief expedition, regarding this act as disobedience of the orders

of the governor, was with difficulty persuaded to leave some part of his stores with these thirteen cavaliers, and sailed away, leaving them marooned on a small island in the Pacific Ocean.

The island of Gallo was soon deemed unsuitable as a base by the thirteen, and a raft was constructed which bore them to the smaller Island of Gorgona, twenty five miles away, where wood and game were more plentiful, and water was abundant, while it was uninhabited by Indians. Here they waited for help from Almagro and Lluque.

These two were faithful to their contract. Representing that Pizarro was engaged in an enterprise that would redound to the fame and power of the crown, they were allowed to dispatch a ship to Gorgona with instructions that Pizarro was to return within six months to report on the prospects of his expedition. The vessel reached Pizarro when he had spent seven months on the island, and though disappointed that a more substantial force was not available, he sailed to the south. Twenty days after his departure he sailed into the Gulf of Guayaquil and came to anchor off the bay of Tumbez.

Here was a substantial town with houses of stone and adobe set in the midst of irrigated fields. The Indians were friendly and supplied the ship with bananas, corn, potatoes, manioc, pineapples and cocoanuts, with game fish and llamas, an animal which the Spaniards had hitherto not encountered. Among the Indians was an Inca noble who was invited to the ship and shown over the equipment and stores. He was treated with marked respect by Pizarro, of whom he asked the purpose of the visit. Pizarro replied that he was the representative of the greatest and most powerful king in the world, and that he had been sent to the country in order to assert his master's lawful supremacy over it. He had further to rescue the inhabitants from the false worship of evil spirits and to promise them eternal salvation if they would worship the true and only God, Jesus Christ. The Inca noble maintained a discreet silence and departed at nightfall. Several Spaniards were invited on shore and reported on the wealth of gold

and silver in the temples. In their turn the Spaniards demonstrated the power of the arquebus by setting up a board and splitting it with one well-aimed ball. The natives were properly impressed by this demonstration and regarded the armoured Spaniards with awe. Unable from lack of men to despoil the town and its people, Pizarro maintained a civil and conciliatory behaviour and sailed on to the south. In all places he visited he was received with hospitality; they saw increasing evidence of a high civilization: roads, temples, fortresses and ever more circumstantial reports of the magnificence of the court of the Inca, ablaze with gold and silver, and surrounded with every luxury to which the imagination of the Spaniards could give reign.

At about nine degrees south of the equator Pizarro turned back, visiting again the places where he had been so well received, assuring the Indians of his regard for them, while he meditated on ways and means of subduing and converting them. After an absence of eighteen months he dropped anchor at Panama.

The governor made light of the discoveries of Pizarro and refused help. The funds of the three partners were now exhausted and they now held that it was imperative that help should be asked directly of the crown. Pizarro, with the consent of the others, sailed in the spring of 1528 to Spain, bearing with him some natives, two or three llamas, and some cloth and various ornaments of gold and silver. He arrived in Seville in the summer, to be thrown in jail for debts incurred during certain previous expeditions.

Advised of the nature of his mission, the court procured his speedy release, and Pizarro was granted an audience with the emperor Charles V in Toledo.

Charles at this time was engaged in several important and expensive projects: the suppression of Turkish power in Hungary, measures calculated to restore Catholicism in Germany; elimination of French influence in Italy, and the freeing of the Mediterranean from the predations of the Barbary Corsairs. All these would require funds and a great deal of them. Hence Charles, hearing from Pizarro of the potential wealth of

Peru, listened with a ready ear, and commended his proposals to the Council of the Indies. But business was conducted by this body in a deliberate and leisurely fashion, and Pizarro, whose funds were unequal to the expenses that he must necessarily incur by his appearances in and about court, represented that action must be taken with speed.

The affair was taken under the Queen's direction. On the 26th, July, 1529, an instrument was signed defining the powers and privileges of Pizarro. The Capitulation permitted Pizarro to conquer and to colonize for six hundred miles south of Santiago; he was to receive the title of Governor and Captain-General of the new province of New Castile, with a salary and retinue appropriate to his station; he was to erect fortresses, to assign encomiendas and in general assume the functions of a vice-roy. Almagro was to command the fortress of Tumbez, with somewhat less than half the salary of Pizarro. Lluque was to become Bishop of Tumbez and Protector of the Indians of Peru. All salaries were to be defrayed from the revenues of the captured territories. Ruiz gained the title of Grand Pilot of the Southern Ocean, and the other veterans of Gallo were granted titles and offices, all of which had to be gained from future conquests. Pizarro thus established a clear ascendancy over Almagro; the lucrative offices were concentrated in Pizarro's hands although one of the conditions of Almagro's agreement that Pizarro should visit Spain in person had been that offices and honours should be equally shared. The seeds of future strife were now planted.

Returning to his birthplace, Pizarro discussed his brilliant prospects with his relatives and friends. Three illegitimate half brothers and one legitimate son of Pizarro's father, named Francisco de Alcantara, Gonzalo, Juan and Hernando Pizarro respectively, of whom an acquaintance said, "They were all poor, and as proud as they were poor, and their eagerness for gain was in proportion to their poverty," decided to join the proposed expedition. In spite of aid given by Cortez, now in Spain and in sympathy with Pizarro's temper, recruits were not forthcoming in adequate numbers. In his agreement with the

crown, Pizarro had undertaken to raise one hundred and fifty men in six months. He had not done so when he heard that a deputation from the Council of the Indies was to inspect his preparations. Pizarro hastily weighed anchor before this body arrived and sailed for the Canary Islands. His brother Hernando remained behind to explain to the Council that the bulk of the men had gone with Pizarro, and with these politic perversions of the truth he was allowed to depart.

At Nombre de Dios Pizarro met Lluque and Almagro. The latter was furious with the terms of the Capitulation which had been worked out much to the disadvantage of himself. "Is it thus," he is reputed to have exclaimed, "that you have dealt with the friend who has shared equally with you in the trials, the dangers and the cost of the enterprise; and this, notwithstanding your solemn engagements on your departure to provide for his interests as faithfully as your own? How could you allow me to be thus dishonoured in the eyes of the world by so paltry a compensation, which seems to estimate my services as nothing in comparison with your own." Pizarro replied that the Crown had refused, even after Pizarro had faithfully represented Almagro's interests, to allow of the great offices of the new province being placed in divided hands, and that what had been granted to Pizarro was, in effect granted to the other, since what was Pizarro's was at Almagro's service in all respects, in such honour did he (Pizarro) hold the other (Almagro). For some reason this frank confidence did not satisfy Almagro, who announced his intention of severing his association with Pizarro and of mounting his own expedition. Lluque stepped in to smooth matters over for the time. Pizarro agreed to relinquish the office of Adelantado (military commander) of the new province in favour of Almagro, and to apply for a distinct government of part of the new conquests on his behalf, while the threefold partition of the spoils was again confirmed.

Early in January 1531 Pizarro's force of one hundred and eighty men, with twenty seven horses--a small force with which to conquer an empire--but well equipped with arms and ammunition, set out in three ships for the south, after receiving the blessings

of heaven on their crusade from Fray Juan de Vargas, a Dominican friar sent by the government to accompany the force. Almagro remained behind to dispatch reinforcements and supplies.

After running south from some days bad weather delayed the ships, and Pizarro decided to march along the coast, while the ships remained in close contact. His treatment of the natives on this occasion was in sharp contrast with that exhibited on his previous travels. Entering a town in the province of Coaque, the invaders rushed in, sword in hand, for, as one said, "If we had advised the Indians of our approach, we should never have found there such stores of gold and precious stones." The loot was deposited in a common heap, and one fifth reserved for the crown. The remainder was distributed in due proportion throughout the company, as was the invariable custom; private looting was not allowed on pain of death. Of the gold a large quantity was sent back to Panama, where the sight of it was calculated to help Almagro in his efforts at recruitment. The small army marched on.

The road became more and more sandy, and the heat and the winds beating on the iron armour or cotton quilted jackets of the soldiers oppressed them severely. Great warts and ulcers broke out on the bodies of many soldiers, causing several deaths. The natives now did not greet the Spaniards with food and gifts, but withdrew to the woods and mountains. The men began to curse their commander who still pressed forward, undismayed by hardship, disease and danger.

A vessel from Panama now joined the discontented invaders, bringing with it some royal officials from Spain who had been given the slip by Pizarro, and thirty soldiers under an officer named Benalcazar, who later rose to high distinction. With higher spirits the men marched to the mouth of the Guayaquil River and settled on the Island of Puna just off the mouth, which was occupied by a tribe of Indians lately conquered by the Incas, and still hostile to them. Pizarro had with him some of the Inca interpreters who had been to Spain with him and these informed him that the Indians of Puna

proposed treachery. Pizarro, after some initial doubts, arrested the caciques of Puna, and after interrogating them, was convinced of their guilt and turned them over to the natives of Tumbez, who massacred them on the spot. The people of Puna at once mustered their forces and advanced on the Spanish camp. The Spanish forces, clad in steel, awaited them in orderly ranks. The tactics of the Indians, which brought them to the field en masse, but then degenerated into a series of single combats without any power of manoeuvre or mass pressure on opposing lines, were revealed in their fatal weakness; the Spaniards received the warriors of Puna on their pikes, cut them down with musketry fire, and shattered the recoiling masses with cavalry charges. The natives, panic-stricken by a style of war to which they were unaccustomed and unable to make any effective retaliation, on the open field, sought refuge in the forests, issuing out only at night to raid the camp and to cut off foraging parties and stragglers. These tactics, though not effective in a short period of time, kept the Spaniards in a state of constant tension, from which they were rescued by the appearance of two more vessels from Panama, bringing one hundred more men and remounts, under the command of Hernando de Soto.

With this addition to his force, Pizarro decided that he could now operate on the mainland against the forces of the Inca. He was encouraged in this determination by statements from the natives of Tumbez to the effect that a civil war was then in progress between two sons of the late Inca. The possibility existed that he could ally himself with one faction and defeat the other, and then deal with his first friends as circumstances and expediency suggested.

The ships were immediately laden with troops and stores and set out for Tumbez. Some native balsa rafts were also pressed into service, and one of these, landing some distance down the coast from the main party, was attacked by the Indians and some of the soldiers killed. Tumbez itself, when the Spaniards entered it, was largely demolished and the inhabitants had fled. The caciques blamed this on the natives of

Puna, and on fear of some of the excesses which the Spaniards had been guilty on previous occasions. Pizarro did not feel inclined to inquire too closely into the reasons for the change in attitude which was now manifested, and leaving some of his sick men behind, he marched into the interior.

On the way he maintained strict discipline among the troops, and was hospitably received by the Indians. He issued, at all points he visited, a proclamation that he came in the name of the Holy Vicar of God and of the Sovereign of Spain, and required the submission of the populace as vassals of his lord. The people, understanding no word of the proclamation, were held to have been acquiescent, and were regarded henceforward as subjects of the Crown. Such negative evidence was recorded and attested by the notary who accompanied the expedition.

Ninety miles south of Tumbez, where a stream entered the ocean, Pizarro decided to build a settlement, which was named San Miguel. Timber and stones were dragged from forest and quarry, and the walls of a church, a town hall and a fortress soon rose. Civic officials were appointed and the land nearby was parcelled out among the Spaniards, together with a sufficient number of men to maintain each conqueror. As Pizarro's secretary noted, it was evident "that the colonists could not support themselves without the services of the Indians; the ecclesiastics and the leaders of the expedition all agreed that a repartimiento of the natives would serve the cause of religion, and tend greatly to their spiritual welfare, since they would thus have the opportunity of being initiated in the true faith." Having thus provided for the comfort of the Spaniards and for the souls of the Indians, Pizarro sought for more information of the internal politics of the Inca empire, and found that Atahualpa had emerged the victor in the civil war and was now encamped less than one hundred miles from the new settlement. Pizarro waited some weeks for reinforcements, such were the rumours of the power and wealth of the Inca sovereign. None came. He then proposed to advance straight to the camp of the Inca and to govern himself by circumstances. It

is impossible that he did not meditate on the action of Cortez, who seized the Aztec emperor Moctezuma in the centre of his capital and in the midst of his armies, and then held him hostage for the good behaviour of his subjects. If a bold coup de main was impossible, the Spanish force could present itself at the least as an embassy from a powerful and friendly brother monarch in Europe.

The advance began through irrigated and fertile fields; the natives showed every sign of friendship and hospitality; the royal store houses and tambus supplied every need for quarters and clothing. Nevertheless some of the men felt that they were thrusting themselves into the jaws of an unknown beast which might rend them without warning. Wishing to have no malcontents, Pizarro offered each man the choice of advancing or of returning, without loss of any share of loot, to the protection of the coastal settlement they had so lately quitted. Of his one hundred and seventy seven men, four of the infantry and five of the cavalry elected to return, while Pizarro continued his march.

At a small settlement named Zaran, set in a fruitful valley, he halted at the close of the second day, and dispatched de Soto to scout ahead. In eight days de Soto returned bringing with him an emissary from the Inca and some of meat, cloth and gold and silver, with Atahualpa's invitation to enter the Inca's camp, and an assurance of welcome. The Inca's messenger received a red cloth cap and some glass ware from Pizarro, declined to stay with the Spaniards from reasons of pressing business, and returned with these trifles, an accurate account of the strength and condition of the newcomers, and an assurance from Pizarro of his (Pizarro's) esteem for the Inca, promises of support against his enemies, and an agreement to come to pay his respects as soon as possible.

Pizarro sent back word of the progress of his force to his rear guard at San Miguel, and resumed his march to the next town where he again paused for four days, doubtless awaiting support. None came. He advanced to the shores of a broad and swift stream, crossed it on a floating bridge, and captured one of the local natives who confessed

under torture that Atahualpa was encamped with large forces in Caxamalca, that he was aware of the small number of men with Pizarro, and was decoying Pizarro into the interior with fair promises, the better to destroy him. Pizarro prudently sent out an Indian to scout out the nature of the land and the strength of the army at Atahualpa's disposal, and to assure the Inca of Pizarro's pacific intentions. When the spy had departed the Spaniards marched toward the Andes where lay the town of Caxamarca and the Inca. The road speedily became narrower as it wound along the edges of steep precipices and through gloomy passes above which frowned the stern outlines of stone fortresses. The weather grew colder; the vegetation changed from tropical forests to funereal pine thickets, then to stunted Alpine plants and finally to plains of yellowed grasses. Here Pizarro halted, pitched his tents and lit his camp fires. An embassy from Atahualpa met him and assured him that the road was open and that the Spaniards were welcome to visit. Pizarro's Indian messenger to the Inca returned at the same time, to report that Atahualpa had refused to see him, that a strong army awaited the Spaniards, and that he himself had narrowly escaped with his life. Pizarro was hardly in a position to reproach the Inca noble with complaints, so that he affected to disbelieve his own messenger's report, dismissed him, and marched on.

Caxamalca lies in a broad and fertile valley wherein lay a small town. The attraction of the location to the Inca was the existence near the town of a number of hot springs where the Incas used to bathe. But now the valley was covered with a cloud of tents, as thick as snow flakes, indicating the presence of an army far outnumbering that of the Spaniards. With bold countenances, since any other would have been useless, the Spaniards advanced in three divisions toward the city. They entered it and found the temples and fortresses deserted. Pizarro paused here, and sent de Soto ahead with a small party of horses. Away dashed that cavalier, over some miles of meadow, across a stream, through battalions of warriors to a court yard where he was directed to Atahualpa, who sat on a low stool, crowned with the crimson fringe of sovereignty,

surrounded by his court. Here the cavalry checked their headlong pace and de Soto and Hernando Pizarro advanced to the Inca. They did not dismount but civilly informed the Indian monarch that they were emissaries from a mighty prince far over the seas, that they were charged to offer their services to Atahualpa, and that their commander hoped that Atahualpa would visit Pizarro in his encampment at his convenience. Atahualpa made no reply. Hernando Pizarro asked the Inca to indicate his intentions. Atahualpa replied that he was then undertaking a fast, which would end on the morrow, when he would visit the Spanish camp.

Noting Atahualpa's interest in the horses of the company, de Soto struck spurs into his charger and demonstrated his command over the animal, ending with a charge toward the Inca which he checked at the last moment. Atahualpa retained his impassive behaviour though some of his bodyguards quailed. Refreshments were offered to de Soto's party which were refused, and the Spaniards rode away, moodily speculating on the opulence, the strength and the discipline of the Inca's forces. Atahualpa's thoughts are unknown; he did however, order that the soldiers who had recoiled before the charge of de Soto's horse should be put to death.

Pizarro heard the report from de Soto with composure, and proposed that since they could not now flee, nor confide themselves to the mercies of the Indians, the only course of action was to seize the Inca when he visited the encampment the next day, and to hold him as a hostage for the good behaviour of his army. The little Spanish band accepted his plan, posted sentries, and retired to a troubled sleep.

On the morning of the sixteenth of November, 1532 the camp was astir early. Pizarro had occupied a square surrounded on three sides by long low stone buildings with wide doors. In these barrack-like structures were placed the cavalry and infantry, concealed but able to rush out when needed. On the last side of the square was a stone fortress where were emplaced the two small pieces of artillery and a few men. Pizarro himself retained a force of some twenty men to act as he might direct. The arms were checked

and a meal was served, then the Spaniards attended Mass, where God was invoked to shelter the faithful from the arms of the Indians who might resist the spread of the Christian religion.

After mid day a procession was observed moving toward the square. First came a body of attendants who swept the road clear of every particle of rubbish. Behind them was seen the Inca riding high in a litter borne on the shoulders of his nobles. Others of the nobility marched at his side, while the common soldiers spread out in massed formations on each side of the road. At the distance of half a mile from the Spanish camp the Inca halted and tents were pitched. A messenger came to tell Pizarro that the Inca proposed to camp there overnight and to visit him the following morning. Pizarro deprecated this postponement and replied that all was in readiness to receive the Inca and repeated the hope that the Inca would yet come.

The Inca accepted the invitation and advanced with a small party of his followers. The litter bearers entered the square, carrying the golden throne of the Inca, richly ornamented with bright featherwork and plates of gold and silver. His retinue divided to the right and left and filled the square to the number of some five or six thousand. The orderly ranks stood in silence as the imperial palanquin advanced and halted. No Spaniards were yet to be seen.

The litter paused, and the Inca demanded, "Where are the strangers?" One Spaniard appeared before the Indian ruler. He was Pizarro's chaplain, Fray Vicente de Valverde, a Dominican friar and afterward, Bishop of Cuzco. Holding a Bible in one hand and a crucifix in the other, he advanced on the Inca accompanied by Felipillo, an Indian interpreter. He spoke of God and the Holy Trinity; of the birth and crucifixion of Jesus; of Peter and the Popes, who had power over all kings and potentates on earth; he exhorted the Inca to abjure his savage idolatry and embrace that true religion which alone offered him the hope of salvation; he required the Inca to accept the sovereignty of Charles the Emperor who would cherish and protect him as a loyal

vassal.

The Inca answered the tactless and bigoted friar thus:

"I am the first King of the world and I owe homage to no one. Your King is obviously important since he has sent his servants so far across the water. I shall regard him as a brother. But who is this king or other God of yours who has claimed to give my lands to another? This land is mine alone. What you say about your God seems foolish; he was put to death by the men whom he created. I worship no dead god. My god is the Sun, who lives and gives life to men, animals and plants. If he were to die we would all die with him, just as when he sleeps, we too sleep. By what right do you say these senseless things to me?"

Valverde pointed to the book which he held, and gave it to the Inca, who studied it, but did not seem able to open it. Valverde attempted to open it for him, but the angry Atahualpa struck away the outstretched hand, and threw the Bible away from him. The scandalized friar rushed back to Pizarro, shouting, "Do you see what happened? Why do you waste courtesy and restraint on this dog swollen with pride, when we are surrounded on all sides by Indians? Go on. I absolve you."

Pizarro waved a white scarf, the agreed signal; a gun was fired from the fortress, and the Spaniards poured out, shouting their war cry "Santiago y a ellos!"--"Saint James and at them!" The unarmed Indians were ripped and torn by musketry and cannon shot, trampled under the feet of the cavalry and slashed in pieces by the infantry as they surged from one side of the square to the other. The entrances were choked with fugitives and in one spot such was the terrible pressure of bodies that a hundred yards of the adobe wall of the square was broken down and through this gap escaped the bulk of the Indians, still pursued by the Spanish horsement. In the midst of this tumult the litter of Atahualpa had swayed like a ship at sea; the Inca's body-guard remained steadfast and resolutely opposed the advance of the picked party led by Pizarro whose special task was to capture the Inca unharmed. One by one the Inca's

guards ~~were~~ cut down and the litter bearers were reached. ~~One~~ Spaniard, carried away by the passion of slaughter, aimed a blow at the Inca, but Pizarro interposed his arm and sustained the only wound received by his party that day--a slight cut on the hand. As the bearers were cut down the Inca fell from the litter and was seized by the Spaniards and carried away to a nearby building where he was placed under heavy guard. Some anxiety was felt about the possible actions of the army which was still in formation a little distance away, but as the fleeing remnants of the massacre in the square reached the Indian battalions and spread the word that the Inca was captive, the troops took alarm and dispersed in panic. The whole battle, if such an attack on unarmed men may be dignified by that word, had taken slightly over half an hour, but in that time, an immense empire and enormous wealth in ~~gold~~ and silver had changed hands. The folly of the Inca in advancing into the camp of the Spaniards, instead of summoning the Spanish leaders to give an account of themselves at his own headquarters can only be accounted for by a feeling of absolute confidence of the Inca in the presence of his much larger army, though he had been informed of the power of Spanish arms and of the superiority of their weapons since the skirmishes at Puna. It must also be recalled that the most capable generals and all the veteran troops of Atahualpa were away in the south fighting Huascar; had these men and soldiers been present at Caxamalca the story might have ended differently.

That night the Inca, as had been previously agreed, dined with Pizarro, who questioned him closely on the motives for his actions. The interpreter Felipillo, who seems to have been a source of mischief, indicated that Atahualpa had proposed to overpower the Spaniards at Caxamalca, to obtain their weapons and horses, but that he had succumbed to curiosity and wished to see with his own eyes what manner of men entered his kingdom. It is open to question whether Atahualpa, in the hands of the Spaniards, would have been naive enough to tell his conquerors that he had proposed to kill them all, given the chance. It is more likely that, since the Spaniards wrote

the histories of this affair, that they placed such words and sentiments in the Inca's mouth as seemed best to justify their own actions; either that or the interpreter lied. Pizarro spoke in rough but soldierly fashion to the Inca, indicating that the fortunes of war were notoriously fickle, and attributed his victory to the favour of God, who had thus repaid Atahualpa's contempt for the Holy Bible. He said that the Spaniards



ATAHUALLPA IMPRISONED AT CAXAMALCA

were generous, and only made war on those who fought against them, and showed mercy to all who submitted. It is not known whether the Inca was thereby much comforted.

On the following morning the Spaniards took possession of the Indian encampment, while certain of the Inca's wives and domestics were brought back to minister to the monarch in appropriate style. Much gold and many emeralds were also recovered, and Atahualpa, observing the avidity with which the Spaniards seized these told Pizarro that in return for his freedom he would fill a large room with gold as high as he could reach up the wall. A red line was then drawn on the wall of the room about nine feet high. The dimensions of the room were twenty two feet by seventeen feet; this volume was to be filled with gold, not melted down into ingots, but as it had been manufactured into articles and ornaments. Additionally another room, somewhat smaller, was to be filled twice over with silver. The Spaniards were incredulous that such wealth could be obtained, but they could only gain by such an arrangement. Couriers were dispatched to all parts of the kingdom with orders to strip all gold and silver from all buildings whatsoever and bring it to Caxamalca without delay. Meantime Atahualpa was allowed the freedom compatible with the presence of a strong guard, and his subjects were allowed access to his presence. Huascar, held in Cuzco, heard of these agreements and sent or sought to send messengers to Pizarro that if he were released, he would pay much more ransom than that offered by his half brother.

Pizarro indicated that he intended to bring Huascar to Caxamalca and inquire into the respective rights of the two half brothers to the throne. Atahualpa, on hearing of this projected trial, sent word out of the camp that Huascar should be killed at once, and that prince was then drowned in the Andamarca river, while Atahualpa expressed the deepest sorrow for his untimely passing.

Several weeks now passed while great amounts of precious metals were accumulated in the keeping of the conquerors. When the Spaniards complained about the tardiness of the collection of the ransom, Atahualpa reminded them that the way was long and

hard for heavily laden men and animals, and suggested that certain Spaniards should go to Cuzco under a safeconduct and see that no impediment was being offered to the transport of the gold.

A party set off and journeyed to Cuzco in the greatest comfort, travelling over the royal roads in litters for a distance of six hundred miles. They had visited Cuzco and confirmed all that had been said and heard of the capital--its wealth and population was immense and the natives were obedient to the commands of the Inca, even though the Spaniards looted the state temples and assaulted the Chosen Women in the nunneries.

Another party of twenty horsemen under Hernando Pizarro had explored the country toward the coast, where they had taken an inconsiderable amount of gold, but had persuaded the Inca general Challcuchima, in the midst of thirty five thousand men, to return with him to receive the commands of the Inca. Had Challcuchima been alert he could probably have taken this small party prisoner and held it against the safe return of his sovereign, but such was the structure of authority in the empire that the general dare not strike.

In the middle of February, 1533, Almagro, who had been sailing along the coast, receiving news of Pizarro's fortunes, arrived at Caxamalca, where Pizarro was as overjoyed at receiving a reinforcement of two hundred foot and horse as Atahualpa was cast down. The men began to clamour for a division of the spoil, and the commanders were forced to begin to melt down the various plates, ornaments and objects of art that had so far been collected. The process took a full month. The value of the gold alone was in excess of one hundred million dollars, in today's terms. The sharing of this immense wealth was a source of discontent as Almagro's men claimed that they were entitled to equal shares with the men who had comprised the advance. Pizarro's force stated that Atahualpa had made his bargain with them alone and that they did not propose to share it with all who came after the main work had been done. In the end, Pizarro's men made good their claim, and the men of Almagro received small

amounts and prospects of augmenting these with future gains. The Crown received one fifth of the total gold and silver; Francisco Pizarro, about one sixteenth; Hernando Pizarro, about one fiftieth; De Soto, about two thirds of the share allotted to Hernando; the cavalry and infantry received lesser amounts.

The ransom having been divided, Atahualpa demanded his freedom; but while Pizarro prepared a statement that the ransom had been paid, he made no reply to the Inca. He could not, for it was not possible to release the monarch who could then rally his armies; nor could he be kept captive indefinitely. Rumours were spread about the camp of Inca armies concentrating in the hills; Atahualpa denied that the Indians would move without orders. The men began to press for the execution of Atahualpa as necessary for their safety. Pizarro made no immediate move, except that friends of the king, among whom was De Soto, were sent from camp on scouting expeditions. Hernando Pizarro, quarrelsome with others, but friendly with Atahualpa, had already left for Spain with the royal fifth of the treasure.

Pizarro then consented to bring Atahualpa to trial. The charges were drawn up by the army Attorney-General, and he was indicted on the grounds that he had usurped the crown and had his brother Huascar murdered; that he had misused the public finances since the Spaniards had arrived (i.e. some valuables had not been handed over to them); that he was guilty of idolatry and adultery; and that he had incited rebellion against the Spaniards. Atahualpa was found guilty on the spot and sentenced to death by being burnt alive.

Atahualpa, after seeing that no appeal was possible, prepared to die with fortitude, and rejected the spiritual consolations of the bigot Valverde, until the latter pointed out that if he was converted, he would die less painfully by the garrote. On this, Atahualpa was converted and baptized in the name of Juan de Atahualpa, and the sentence was carried out. Next morning funeral services were held by Valverde with the devout cavaliers standing reverently by.

When De Soto returned, he reproached Pizarro with the deed; the latter acknowledged his haste and said that he had been led into error by Valverde and others; the priest, being acquainted with this charge, exonerated himself and blamed Pizarro.

Such is the history of the conquest of Peru; an incredible feat of boldness and treachery whose parallel can not be found in the annals of history.

CHAPTER VI

THE FATE OF THE CONQUERORS

The death of the Inca left Peru in a turmoil. Separatist movements began in distant areas, and the nobles in nearby towns and cities, seeing the importance attributed by the Spaniards to the possession of gold and silver, began to strip the temples and public buildings of their ornaments and to hide these metals in caves and forests and at the bottom of lakes. Pizarro, needing a central authority respected by the Indians, set up Toparca, one of the brothers of Huascar, as Inca, and with the person of this hostage securely guarded, the Spanish army to the strength of five hundred men began its march on Cuzco. Some ineffective resistance was made by the Indians at Xauxa and near the capital, which caused Pizarro to accuse Challcuchima of secret correspondence with his fellow generals aimed at organizing resistance to the conquerors. Challcuchima denied the charge and was put in irons. At this time the puppet Inca died. Suspected of being implicated in his death, Challcuchima was put on trial and condemned to be burned alive. He died with fortitude.

Shortly afterward a Peruvian noble appeared at the Spanish camp and announced that he was Prince Manco, brother of Huascar, and rightful heir to the throne, and that he claimed the protection and assistance of the Spaniards. Pizarro received him with great cordiality, and he was taken with the Spaniards when they entered Cuzco on November 15, 1533. The first act of the Spaniards was to loot the temples, graves and buildings of the city and to torture such inhabitants as were believed to have knowledge of hidden treasure.

After the booty had been divided, the new Inca was crowned with traditional ceremonies, but while the Indians made their obeisances to the Inca, the latter had to accept the supremacy of the Castilian crown. After the coronation Manco was ignored and the nobility of Peru were ejected from their palaces and lands to accommodate the

new Spanish aristocracy. Quizquiz, the remaining Inca general, fought on against the Spaniards without success until his own men, decimated and despairing, assassinated him in the mountains of Quito.

Pizarro busied himself with the building of a new capital; Cuzco was too inaccessible among the mountains and the climate was rather cold. Accordingly he decided to build in the Rimac valley some six miles from the coast a new city which he laid out with broad streets crossing at right angles. For the building of this new city the Indians were summoned for a radius of one hundred miles. It was to be named "Ciudad de los Reyes"--City of the Kings--but the name never achieved common usage and was replaced by the name Lima, corrupted from the Indian Rimac.

At San Miguel, the commander Benalcazar heard of the riches of Quito and set off to conquer that city; after some fighting he occupied it but found that gold and silver were not plentiful. He arrived barely in time, for another expedition under Pedro de Alvarado, companion of Cortez and governor of Guatemala, was marching on Quito with five hundred men and in defiance of the Crown's decree that Quito fell under the jurisdiction of Pizarro. Here also came Almagro from Cuzco on hearing from other sources that Alvarado was seeking a share of the Inca spoil. The newcomers were content on being faced with a strong and resolute force to accept a substantial but still inadequate sum of gold and to return to Guatemala. Almagro returned to Cuzco, where he was assigned to the conquest of Chile. Hernando was dispatched to Spain, where he handed over the royal fifth of the treasurers and was in consequence greeted with great honours. Pizarro was confirmed in his offices, while Almagro was empowered to conquer and occupy such lands as lay to the south of Pizarro's jurisdiction to the extent of two hundred leagues. Many Spaniards joined Hernando in Spain, and he left that land with a well appointed fleet and ample reinforcements of men at arms eager to seek their fortunes. After shipwreck and storms they reached Nombre de Dios and struggled across the isthmus to Panama oppressed by heat and disease, where Almagro

was informed of the nature of his grant. He immediately affected to believe that Cuzco lay in his territories and not those of Pizarro, and his forces, which now included some deserters from Alvarado, behaved accordingly. Factions of Pizarro and Almagro prowled the city and open warfare was immanent when Pizarro himself arrived and succeeded in effecting a temporary reconciliation on the basis of a promise that all expenses and rewards should henceforward be equally shared, and that none should communicate with the Court without the knowledge of the other. Almagro then set out for Chile where even greater riches than those of Peru were hoped for. Pizarro returned to the building of Lima.

The puppet Inca Manco was treated with contempt by the conquerors, but his temper was such that while appearing to attend the Spaniards with meekness, he had concerted a plot to escape from the Spanish camp and lead a general uprising when circumstances were ripe. The departure of Almagro for Chile with part of the army seemed a favorable opportunity. Manco left the city of Cuzco without difficulty, but some of the Indian allies of Pizarro, hostile to the Incas, gave the alarm.

A party of horsemen intercepted the Inca and he was brought back and placed under a strong guard. Hernando Pizarro, who had returned from Spain bearing the Emperor's commissions for his brother and for Almagro, made a point of cultivating the society of the captured Inca and by degrees his captivity was lightened. Manco feigned friendship with Hernando and disclosed to him the hiding places of some treasures. Having gained in some degree the confidence of Hernando, Manco then said that he knew where a statue of solid gold was hidden, and requested leave to go and bring it. Hernando agreed and sent with him two Spanish soldiers. A week passed, and the party did not return. Sixty men under the command of Juan Pizarro were sent out to recover the Inca. The valley of Cuzco was unnaturally silent and deserted, but about twenty miles from Cuzco the two Spaniards who had accompanied Manco were met unharmed, though they bore a defiance from Manco to the conquerors and a threat that all the

men of the country, now in arms, would soon march on the capital.

The sixty Spaniards advanced to the banks of the river Yucay where an Indian army was drawn up under the eye of Manco himself. The Spaniards forced the passage of the stream, formed into a solid column, and charged the opposing masses. The Indians were not able to contest the shock and gave way, though they turned at intervals to discharge volleys of darts and arrows, and sought refuge in the hills. In the morning Juan Pizarro hoped that the Indians would have fled, but such was not the case. The mountain passes and slopes were black with the ranks of Indian soldiers, and when the battle was recommenced, they rolled huge boulders down the slopes and sent such showers of missiles upon the Spaniards that the latter were shortly afterwards forced to return to Cuzco, which they found besieged by two hundred thousand warriors.

Strangely enough, the returning party was not hindered and regained the city. The Spanish force all told did not exceed two hundred men and one thousand Indian auxiliaries. The siege of the city began in February, 1536 with the discharge of an immense number of fire arrows which set fire to the thatched roofs of the houses and temples and burned down half the city. The Spaniards retaliated by sallies from the city upon the besiegers which were productive of great slaughter, though the Indians planted stakes in the ground to impede the action of cavalry, and used the lasso and bolas to entangle the feet of the horses. The fortress which overlooked the city had been taken by the Indians who used this vantage point to oversee all the activities of the Spaniards and to shower missiles upon them. The spirits of some of the followers of Pizarro were depressed; they represented to their commander that they should abandon the city and cut their way through the opposing hosts and make for the coast; their leader insisted that they had but to wait a while until additional forces arrived from the colonies and they would then be left in possession of their wealth and properties. It was determined to hold on, and to punish the Incas by a desperate blow. The Spanish forces made a sally into the camp of the besiegers and inflicted a severe defeat on

the forces of the Inca, and while the Indians were reorganizing, Juan Pizarro decided to attack the fortress which lay at the northern end of the city. He rode out of the city a little before sunset, taking an opposite direction to the fort, but countermarched in the night and arrived before the works before the alarm was given. The attack was pressed, but Juan Pizarro, who did not wear a helmet because of a previous wound on the jaw, was struck on the head by a large stone. The fortress was carried by assault, but Juan died two weeks later from the effects of the blow.

Months passed by with the garrison being slowly reduced and supplies running low. Francisco Pizarro had sent various forces to relieve Cuzco, but these had been allowed to penetrate into the mountains, and overwhelmed by the Indians who rolled great rocks upon them in situations where the Spanish were unable to retaliate, and then assaulted the remnants with vastly superior numbers. A few stragglers returned to Lima.

By August the crisis was over, but not from the efforts of the Spaniards alone. The Peruvian army was not able to feed itself; the magazines which formerly would have supported their efforts had been consumed by the Spaniards and not replenished; the planting season was now approaching and the Inca had to disband the most part of his army to attend to their subsistence. Manco left a small force to observe the city, and withdrew to the valley of Yucay.

Hernando scoured the land on all sides for provisions, and gathered large numbers of llamas which soon placed the supply of food on an adequate basis. Affairs of outposts continued, but a larger expedition to capture Manco was repulsed.

At this time Almagro approached Cuzco from the south, returning from Chile where he had found no large amounts of gold and where many of his men had perished from cold and starvation or had survived by resorting to cannibalism. Almagro had been friendly with Manco, and finding his path to Cuzco barred by a large Inca army, he proposed a truce and a discussion of the situation. Manco agreed to a conference,

but suddenly fell on Almagro with fifteen thousand men. He was beaten off with great slaughter and the Inca himself was wounded. Almagro then advanced on Cuzco and claimed that the royal grant had placed the city in his jurisdiction. Entering the city, he arrested the Pizarros and their chief supporters, and enjoined the neighboring Spanish commanders to accept that he was now Lord of Cuzco. Such as did not accept this declaration he attacked and captured. He now proposed to advance to the coast, but first he marched against the Inca to such effect that Manco was deserted by his followers and at length took refuge with one wife in the remote valleys of the Andes. Taking Hernando Pizarro with him, Almagro set off, leaving Gonzalo Pizarro closely guarded in Cuzco with other prominent supporters of the Pizarros. The prisoners bribed their guards and escaped.

Francisco Pizarro proposed a parley; it was agreed that a skilled navigator should establish the exact limits of the royal grants to Pizarro and Almagro, and that in the meantime Almagro and Pizarro should retire to their undisputed territories while Hernando Pizarro should be set at liberty on undertaking to leave the colony for Spain within six weeks. The two chiefs parted with expressions of mutual esteem; Almagro left for Cuzco while Pizarro collected his army and then denounced the agreement that had so recently been concluded.

In April 1538 five hundred followers of Almagro faced seven hundred supporters of the Pizarros led by Hernando a few miles from Cuzco. A charge of cavalry decided the battle; Almagro was taken, put in irons, tried on charges of levying war against the crown, allying himself with the Inca, and displacing the royal governor of Cuzco. He was found guilty and garrotted in his prison; the corpse was afterwards beheaded in the main square of Cuzco. Francisco Pizarro arrived soon afterward in the city and expressed great shock at the severity of his rival's punishment, but he confiscated the estates of Almagro's followers and friends, reducing them to poverty.

Hernando returned to Spain in 1539, and was challenged to a duel by a supporter

of Almagro who had reached the court before him. The challenger died some five days after issuing his defiance, in circumstances which led to a suspicion of the use of poison. The accusations which had been made of Hernando's high handed execution of Almagro led to his imprisonment in a Spanish fortress for twenty years, from which he was released in 1560 an aged and broken man. He never returned to Peru, though he retained an interest in some silver mines in that country.

The state of Peru led the royal court to send out a learned judge, the Licenciado Vaca de Castro, who was to be given a warrant as royal governor of Peru, though this was not to be shown nor used unless Pizarro should die. It was feared that if Pizarro knew of any officer from Spain with superior powers to his own being appointed over Peru, he might throw off his allegiance to Spain and set up an independent government himself. De Castro left Seville in the winter of 1540 and arrived in Peru after a tedious and dangerous voyage to find Peru in a greater turmoil than had been reported.

Gonzalo Pizarro had been appointed by his brother to the government of Quito with the additional task of exploring the forest country to the east. He soon gathered three hundred and fifty Spaniards and four thousand Indians with appropriate stores and set out over the Andes and down the eastern foothills, which were clothed with immense forests soaked by incessant rainstorms. Through these forests the adventurers backed their way for some weeks, until their clothing rotted, their food was exhausted and they were reduced to digging for roots and gathering such herbs as appeared edible. Striking one of the tributaries of the Amazon they followed its course to an immense waterfall over twelve hundred feet in depth, crossed over the stream on a bridge of felled trees and made their way down the further bank, skirmishing with the Indians and always hoping that the next bend in the river would disclose the sight of cultivated lands and populous cities. At length such hopes vanished. It was decided to build a boat large enough for the weaker members of the company and the baggage. Trees were cut down, the shoes of the horses furnished metal for ship nails, and a boat was con-

structed in two months which was large enough to accommodate half the remaining Spaniards. For some time the shore party kept pace with the boat, but rumours were heard of a rich settlement some days' travel away, and Pizarro sent the brigantine under command of Francisco de Orellana to investigate, and if possible to return with a stock of food sufficient to allow the cavaliers to recover their strength and continue the advance. With fifty men Orellana began his voyage; he found no traces of civilization, and it was deemed impossible to return against the current. He therefore pressed on down the Amazon and thence to Spain. One of his crew, finding Orellana's abandonment of Pizarro repugnant to his honour, protested and was abandoned on the banks of the river. He struggled back to Pizarro and told him that they were deserted in the wilderness. Nothing remained but to return. In June 1542 the survivors straggled onto the plains of Quito, on foot, clad in skins, with arms rusted and broken, and bodies scarred and emaciated. Much had changed in their absence.

The followers of Almagro, led by his son, had concentrated in Lima, where the Pizarro faction treated them with contempt, but regarded them as too poor in spirit to require supervision. It was known that a royal judge had been appointed to inquire into the state of affairs in Peru, but months passed and the judge did not arrive. The Almagro party, disheartened in their hopes of redress and revenge, decided to take matters into their own hands. Some twenty conspirators under the lead of one Juan de Herrada met on Sunday the twenty sixth of June 1541, and proposed to assassinate Pizarro on his return from Mass. But on that day Pizarro remained at home, and it was known that he had received some warning of his danger. Fearing that unless the blow was struck immediately the conspirators would be seized and executed, the desperate band decided to assault the governor's house and dispatch him on the spot.

The conspirators rushed across the plaza, burst through the open gate into the courtyard and hacked down one of two servants found there. The other fled and gave the alarm. Pizarro was at dinner with some friends who, being for the most part unarmed,

escaped into the garden. Pizarro shouted to one of the bolder men who remained that if the door were bolted until he put on his armour they could hold out until aid arrived. His friend, instead of obeying, opened the door to parley with the onrushing plotters, and was promptly run through the body. Pizarro had no time to arm and, wrapping a cloak round his arm as a guard, rushed into the fight. The passage outside the chamber was narrow and Pizarro killed two men quickly. The rest drew back somewhat. Herrada, fearing that Pizarro's men would interrupt the attack seized one of his own men, thrust him on Pizarro's sword, and rushed the old man while his arms were impeded. Pizarro fell with a wound in the throat and was dispatched on the ground by either a sword thrust or as another authority has it, by being hit on the head with a heavy water jar. The Almagro party then took control of Lima and arrested various other high dignitaries, though no more violence took place. The corpse of Pizarro was rolled in a cloth and buried in a corner of the cathedral by his wife and a few domestics. His death was un-lamented. But though Francisco was assassinated, Hernando was in prison in Spain, and Juan was dead at the siege of Cuzco, there was still a Pizarro left.

The assassination left the Almagro party in a favorable position; proclamations were issued demanding that the young Almagro should be recognized as Governor of Peru, and where some military force was available to enforce this claim it was conceded. In other places the Pizarros maintained control. Vaca de Castro arrived in the spring of 1541 but was so enfeebled by his voyage that he remained some months before regaining his health. He made his way to Quito which was under the command of one of Pizarro's captains, and was joined by Benalcazar and a small force. The Licentiate now produced his warrant empowering him to assume the government and marched slowly toward the south. Almagro and Herrada did not wish to come into open collision with the crown, but it was obvious that de Castro seemed to be surrounded by men of Pizarro and was gathering reinforcements which were animated by hatred of Almagro. In the circumstances it was decided to attack such Pizarro supporters as were hastening

to join the Licentiate. But at this point Herrada died, and Almagro's lieutenants Sotelo and Garcia de Alvarado quarrelled. Sotelo was assassinated in his apartments by de Alvarado; Almagro feigned to ignore the incident, but finding that Alvarado was planning to betray him, he in turn assassinated de Alvarado. Manco, hovering in the mountains near Cuzco and hating the Pizarros, aided Almagro with supplies of arms and promises of aid.

Almagro now communicated with de Castro, claiming the lands granted by the crown to his father and seized by the Pizarros and disclaiming any wish to resist lawful authority. He did not receive a reply and perforce had to begin open warfare. He could muster two hundred horses and three hundred pikemen and arquebusiers, and sixteen pieces of ordnance. The opposing forces were about equal in number, possessing more cavalry though not so well equipped, and deficient in artillery of which only four pieces were available. Almagro now moved from Cuzco toward the coast, whence de Castro was slowly advancing.

Certain communications passed between the two parties--Almagro requesting confirmation in the possession of his father's lands and honours, while de Castro required the surrender of Pizarro's assassins and the disbandment of Almagro's forces. Late in the afternoon of the sixteenth of September 1542 the small armies met on the plains of Chupas. Both forces were drawn up with the artillery in the centre, covered with the infantry, and with the cavalry hovering on the flanks. Almagro's superior artillery opened with an effective fire which prevented any ordered frontal attack on the position. De Castro took the advice of Carbajal, an experienced soldier, and moved to the flank where a rise in the ground shielded them from shot, and came to close quarters with Almagro's forces. Manco's Indians attempted to intervene in this movement but were repulsed by arquebus fire. Almagro's artillery fire now seemed ill aimed; the chief gunner was Pedro de Candia, who had been with Pizarro at the island of Gallo. Him Almagro ran through and took charge of the guns himself, where upon the

fire was more accurate. All attempt at manoeuvre ended with a headlong charge of the royalist cavalry which was evenly met. Fighting with the infantry, Carbajal took Almagro's guns, and the last reserve led by de Castro overpowered the insurgents who fled through the evening gloom. Almagro reached Cuzco only to be arrested on the spot by the magistrates he had left in charge. He was tried and convicted of rebellion, and was beheaded in the main square of Cuzco.

Gonzalo Pizarro now returned from his Amazon expedition and was very angry that the government of the country had not been placed after Francisco's assassination into his hands as the surviving heir. De Castro sent for him, sympathized with his sufferings on the late expedition and advised him to recover from his exertions in the solitude of his large estates. Gonzalo so retired and busied himself with mining silver at Potosi.

De Castro now turned to the reorganization of Peru. He disbanded his army and dispatched the more adventurous and mettlesome leaders on expeditions to far lands. The Indians were afforded some protection from the worst excesses of the conquerors, schools were opened for instruction in the Christian religion, and the affairs of the country were dealt with by a firm and impartial hand.

The Spanish court was at this time bombarded by evidence from Las Casas that the Indians in the New World were being treated vilely by the conquerors, and accordingly certain revolutionary decrees were promulgated, mitigating the burden on the Indians and curbing the powers of the Spanish landlords. To enforce these laws a Viceroy was appointed to Peru with his seat of government at Lima.

The country was thrown into confusion at the news. The vast estates of the conquerors would be ruined without the forced labour of the Indians; the threat of expulsion from Peru of all who had taken a part in the Pizarro-Almagro feud left all uneasy. The country was ripe for insurrection, though de Castro cautioned the Spaniards to remain calm, to petition the crown if they were unjustly threatened in their livelihood, and to wait for the coming of the Viceroy.

The new ruler of Peru was Blasco Nunez Vela, a brave and devout noble who was without capacity for his post. He arrived at Nombre de Dios in January 1544, and alarmed the colonists there by freeing three hundred Indians who had been brought from Peru. He then sailed to Tumbez where he liberated slaves and used pack mules to carry his baggage, or paid the Indians for their services where animals were not a practical means of transport. These unheard-of actions caused wide dismay, and representations were made to Gonzalo Pizarro to protect the rights that the colonists had earned in desperate battles and hazardous marches. Gonzalo made his preparations while Blasco Nunez entered Lima in great state and informed the muttering and mutinous conquerors that he was there to enforce the ordinances of the Spanish Crown, until they were repealed or amended.

Gonzalo had now gathered four hundred men and was joined by small parties from all sides. Blasco Nunez grew suspicious of everyone around him and alienated many, who had hitherto supported the power of the throne as manifested in the person of the Viceroy, by poniarding a cavalier who resented being accused of treachery and burying the body secretly in the cathedral. Gonzalo was slowly advancing on Lima when a spontaneous insurrection developed; the Viceroy was arrested by the citizens and sent back to Spain with a member of the local council to explain the course of events.

Gonzalo Pizarro now appeared at Lima and was proclaimed Governor and Captain General of Peru until His Majesty's intentions became known. The office was tendered to Pizarro after Carbajal had speeded up deliberations by some hangings within the city. Gonzalo took active measures to consolidate his position; persons who had opposed him in the past were exiled and their estates were confiscated; the principal posts were filled by his appointees; his lieutenants took charge of the major cities; work was begun on the construction of a fleet which could command the coastal waters; and a magistrate was dispatched to Castile to give an account of recent events in such a way as to vindicate Gonzalo's actions.

Meantime the Inca Manco had been killed. On the defeat of the young Almagro, certain Spaniards had escaped and had taken refuge in the Inca's camp; a fight occurred in which the Inca was killed, and the Spaniards had been in turn killed by the Peruvians.

While one actor vanished from the scene, another who had been removed now reappeared. The Viceroy, Blasco Nunez, had hardly left the shores of Peru when the officer escorting him relented and announced that he was no longer a prisoner and placed the vessel and its crew at his disposal. The Viceroy, not wishing to reappear in Spain as a defeated and discredited man, landed at Tumbez and called on loyal men to aid him in putting down the rebellious traitor Gonzalo Pizarro. Volunteers came in some numbers and he obtained some small military successes against outlying posts of Pizarro's forces, but when Gonzalo arrived in upper Peru at the head of a well trained and experienced army, the Viceroy was forced to retreat to the north where he hoped to join forces with the loyal Benalcazar. The retreat was long and hard; the fugitives pressed by Carbañal lost their arms and baggage and were forced to live by boiling corn in their steel helmets and to sleep with their saddled horses beside them. Those men who could not keep up were taken by Carbañal and instantly put to death.

The retreat was carried on through two hundred leagues of mountain, desert and forest. At the end the Viceroy passed through the city of Quito some hours ahead of Pizarro. Here the pursuit was halted, and Blasco Nunez was permitted to retreat to Popayan where Benalcazar joined him. Four hundred men were soon assembled under the Viceroy's command, but the supplies of arms were so deficient that the force was not able to fight until furnaces and smiths had been assembled to manufacture pikes and arquebuses. In this occupation and in the training of the army some weeks were consumed.

Pizarro wished to bring on a battle, and marched out of Quito with the bulk of his army, giving out that he was returning to the south, and taking measures to ensure that Blasco Nunez was informed of his departure. The Viceroy fell into the trap and

marched on Quito, while Pizarro secretly returned and lay in wait in the hills to the north of the city. The two forces made contact on opposite sides of a stream. Benalcazar represented that Pizarro's position was too strong to be attacked frontally and made a night march, proposing to fall on the enemy's rear at dawn; however he lost his way in the night and exhausted his men by an unnecessary twenty five mile detour.

Although his forces did not much exceed half the number of Pizarro's the Viceroy determined on an attack. An impetuous charge by Nunez's cavalry met with some initial success, but his men and horses were fatigued by their long march, and they were borne down by Pizarro's reserves. Nunez was unhorsed and was beheaded on the field by a negro slave. Benalcazar was left for dead on the field, but recovered and was allowed to return to his province on condition of undertaking to bear arms no more against Pizarro. The rank and file were taken into the service of the victors. This battle of Anaquito was greeted with general rejoicing by the men of Peru; they were confident of retaining their estates and rights over the Indians and hailed Pizarro as the liberator of his country. He was urged by Carbajal to declare himself sovereign of Peru on the grounds that he had already gone too far in killing a Viceroy of Spain ever to hope for reinstatement in royal favour, but Pizarro did not accept this view; he held that he had acted as had seemed best for the tranquility and good government of the colony, that the Viceroy had exceeded his instructions and had moreover committed certain crimes which his office did not justify; he therefore did not despair of being confirmed in his present circumstances by the Crown.

In Spain the news of the revolt and of the execution of Blasco Nunez was received with consternation. Peru was remote, and the chances of mounting an expedition against a hostile united province half way across the world was almost beyond the resources of the Spanish Crown. It was decided that open warfare with the rebellious colonists was not a politic procedure, and that diplomacy should precede violence. An ecclesiastic, Pedro de la Gasca, who had a record of success in high government and politics, and

who was none the less of a subtle and conciliatory nature, was selected to treat with the colonists, and was armed with unprecedented powers. In the name of the king he was placed at the head of every office in the colony; he could make war, levy troops, remove from office, and pardon offences at will; he was authorized to revoke all the ordinances which Blasco Nunez had tried to enforce with such disastrous results. These powers were conferred in secret; he was given blank letters signed by the King whose content he could fill in as he wished. So armed, Gasca sailed in May 1546 for the New World. He found every point in Peru commanded by adherents of Pizarro and landed at Panama without any notable retinue, representing himself to the officer in command as an agent of peace with powers to grant amnesty to all who submitted to the legal authority of the Crown. Hinojosa, commander of the fleet at Panama, was staunch to Pizarro and asked if Gasca had the power to confirm Pizarro in the offices to which his services and the wishes of the people entitled him. Gasca evaded the issue by stating that no loyal servant of the Crown would go unrewarded. Hinojosa sent dispatches to Pizarro acquainting him with the nature of Gasca's mission, but on the ship which bore these advices Gasca introduced a friar armed with proclamations offering pardon to all who returned to their loyalties to the crown and withdrawing the ordinances regarding the treatment of the Indians. His intent was that if once the colonists knew that the claims for which they had supported Pizarro were no longer in question, there would be no purpose in continuing in rebellion. In such terms did Gasca also write to Pizarro. Months passed by without reply, but Gasca's moves had not been without result. Important men, high in the esteem of Pizarro, deserted him and accepted pardon from Gasca. Hinojosa handed over command of the fleet, and was then reaffirmed in his commission. Control of the sea was lost to Gonzalo without even the semblance of a struggle, and now Gasca began to assemble arms and men for a more decisive encounter.

Pizarro had already passed the crisis of his career; he had rejected the offers of pardon that he had received; he received the news of the defection of Hinojosa with

consternation, and set about gathering an army. The expense of this undertaking was beyond his private resources and he had to make levies on the fortunes of the citizens of Lima, who were taxed and intimidated in a cause which they no longer supported.

Pizarro now heard that the navy which he had constructed was at sea carrying the royal troops towards Lima. He feared to expose his own army to the temptations of a free pardon which Gasca might offer, and carried his largely reluctant troops outside the city where he had the men swear fidelity to his cause on pain of death. Even so, many men left the camp and made their way by stealth to the mountains where they would not be involved in the coming struggles. As soon as Pizarro left, the city of Lima opened its gates to Gasca's representative Aldana. Pizarro saw his army dwindle from one thousand to five hundred and decided to make his way to Chile, but the passes to the south were held by Centeno, an enemy of Pizarro. Pizarro marched south to force the passes in the neighborhood of lake Titicaca. When the armies met Pizarro was outnumbered by two to one, but had a superbly trained corps of arquebusiers under the command of Carbajal. Centeno opened the attack with his infantry. Carbajal reserved his fire until the disordered attackers were within a few yards of his line, killed a hundred men with his first discharge and scattered the rest of the infantry. Centeno's cavalry defeated Pizarro, but could not break Carbajal's ranks of pikemen and arqueburi-ers, who eventually drove the cavalry from the field after repulsing several charges. Such men of Centeno's party who were caught on the field were killed on the spot; Centeno, himself took to the mountains and made his way back to Lima. Pizarro, elated by his success, now abandoned all thought of retreating into Chile, and decided to fight for the mastery of Peru.

Gasca had been disappointed by the news of the battle of Huarina, but steadily gathered support. Centeno reappeared with Benalcazar; and Valdivia, considered the most able commander in the Americas, returning from Chili, threw in his lot with Gasca against his old comrade Pizarro. By the beginning of 1548 Gasca had a force of two

thousand men under arms, commanded by experienced officers, supported by a powerful artillery, and well provided with supplies. The advance on Cuzco began in March. Pizarro decided to give battle, and selected a position with his flanks protected on the one side by a mountain and on the other by a stream. The spot was named Xaquixaguana; it was the place where Francisco Pizarro had burned Challcuchima.

Both forces drew up in good order, Pizarro preparing to receive an attack in position. His men now perceived the coming ruin. An officer, placed in charge of Pizarro's infantry, rode out as if to reconnoitre, and then clapped spurs to his horse and made off into Gasca's camp. A column of arquebusiers marched off likewise; a force of cavalry sent off in pursuit of the arquebusiers promptly joined them in desertion. Others made off toward the mountains or threw their arms on the ground. Pizarro had no option but to abandon the idea of fighting, and surrendered himself. Carbajal fled, but was unlucky enough to fall off his horse when crossing a steep banked stream, and was captured. Carbajal was sentenced to be drawn and quartered, while Pizarro was beheaded for treason to the crown.

Gasca redistributed the repartimientos, improved the lot of the Indians by lightening their taxation and regulating the services they were required to perform, and banished, executed and sent to the galleys troublemakers who resented such limitations on their powers. In January 1550 he left Peru, leaving it in a state of comparative tranquility. Able successors continued his work, and a degree of peace and prosperity returned to Peru.

CHAPTER VII

EPILOGUE - PERU IN RECENT TIMES

The Colonial Period

The conquistadores were brought under control of the Spanish crown by a succession of able Viceroys. The condition of the Indians was improved by the efforts of the Catholic priests who laboured long and diligently for the souls of the Peruvians and who also sincerely strove to aid them by protecting them from rapacious landlords. The collection of taxes and the provision of labour for public purposes reverted to the control of the native chiefs who were responsible to an agent of the crown. In some ways the lot of the peasants was even improved above the conditions they had enjoyed under the Incas. Spanish colonists moved to Peru in large numbers; the climate was delightful, the soil fertile, and the mines supplied enormous quantities of gold and silver to help sustain the Spanish aspirations in Europe. The silver mines of Potosi were complemented by the discovery of the mercury mines at Huancavelica which produced an essential ingredient in the extraction of silver.

Lima grew rapidly, particularly since under the monopolist system of the Spanish colonial empire most of the trade between Europe and South America was channelled through that port. To some degree Lima declined in importance in the eighteenth century when South America was subdivided into smaller administrative regions under Captains General or Viceroys and other ports were opened to trade.

The Peruvian Indians relapsed into a state of docility. Manco's son was executed by a Viceroy, not for any proven crime but because he might furnish a rallying point for any disaffected natives. In 1780 a descendent of the Incas, Tupac Amaru II, led an abortive and brief revolt, and was executed with his family in a revolting manner. The unfortunate leader, after preliminary tortures, was tied to four horses who were led apart to tear him asunder. The horses were unable to dismember him, and he was

finished off by some judicious axe strokes. His remains were burned. His wife was tortured, her tongue was cut out and she was sentenced to the garrote. Her neck was too small for effective use of the iron collar and screw, and she was then finished off by kicks in the stomach and chest.

The Revolutionary Period

The struggle for independence in South America was not a spontaneous uprising of the masses against an oppressive regime, but a revolt by the resident upper classes to seize power for themselves. Peru remained loyal to the crown, and independence was imposed on the country from the outside by Generals San Martin and Bolivar. The latter liberator ruled the country until 1826. The revolution did not command the support of the Peruvian peasantry, nor did it change their status. The politics of Peru have since been dominated by the wealthy landowners and the military aristocracy. Liberal movements in government have been subject to military intervention as recently as 1963.

The Economy

Somewhat more than half of the present population of Peru is engaged in agriculture, but much of this activity is in subsistence agriculture which produces little for sale or export. The cash crops are produced mainly in the irrigated coastal areas which specialize in the growing of cotton, sugar and rice. The highlands produce potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, oats and alfalfa which are, in the main, consumed locally.

Livestock ranching is carried on in areas where the rainfall is adequate and the elevation not excessive. Cattle ranching is important at lower elevations on the large estancias under the control of wealthy landowners who can provide for proper breeding, feeding and marketing practices. On the high lands the Indians engage in sheep-herding and potato farming. Everywhere, and inevitably, given the history of the Spanish Conquest, the best lands are in the hands of the whites, and only the steeper

slopes, the most poorly drained and the least fertile areas are left to the Indians. Most of the Inca terraces have been abandoned, and no organization has yet appeared prepared to rebuild them.

Mining is a major factor in the Peruvian economy, but gold and silver, while still being extracted, and surpassed in production value by copper, lead and zinc. Iron, tungsten and vanadium are being mined in addition, and the discovery of coal has permitted the manufacture of iron and steel. There are possibilities of oil deposits in the eastern zone. Mining of guano from the coastal islands is carried on by a government monopoly, but has decreased in importance since World War I where German chemists succeeded in extracting and fixing nitrogen from the air for use in explosives and as fertilizer. Much of the mining industry of Peru is financed, developed and controlled by United States interests.

The Peruvian coastal fisheries are rapidly becoming commercially important. Twenty years ago these waters were the preserve of local fishermen in small boats who set out daily and sold their fresh catch next day. A few wealthy sportsmen also visited these waters in search of game fish. The scene has now changed; modern trollers and seiners fish the area, and shore installations for cleaning, processing and packaging the products are being expanded. This industry has not yet reached its full capacity, and North America companies interested in this commerce are becoming active. The waters, however, are not wholly within the territorial limits of Peru.

The Population

Of the population of about eleven millions, some fifteen percent are considered to be white, about forty five percent is considered to be pure Indian, and the remainder, about four and a half millions are "mestizos" of mixed ancestry comparable to the Canadian "Metis". A few negroes and Orientals have also made their homes in Peru. Every shade of culture from that of the wealthy upper-class Spaniard to that of the primitive forest Indian may be observed in Peru; though observation of the latter culture

may involve some hazard.

One third of the population lives in the coastal region in villages, towns and cities, where the advances of civilization have changed the Indians and mestizos into day labourers, factory hands, craftsmen and servants with appropriate trade unions and labour regulations to guide their conduct. It is unfortunate that manual labour is regarded in Peru as the prerogative of the lower classes, and that businessmen on their way to the office are preceded by small boys who carry brief cases and packages. Labour is cheap and plentiful and wages are correspondingly low.

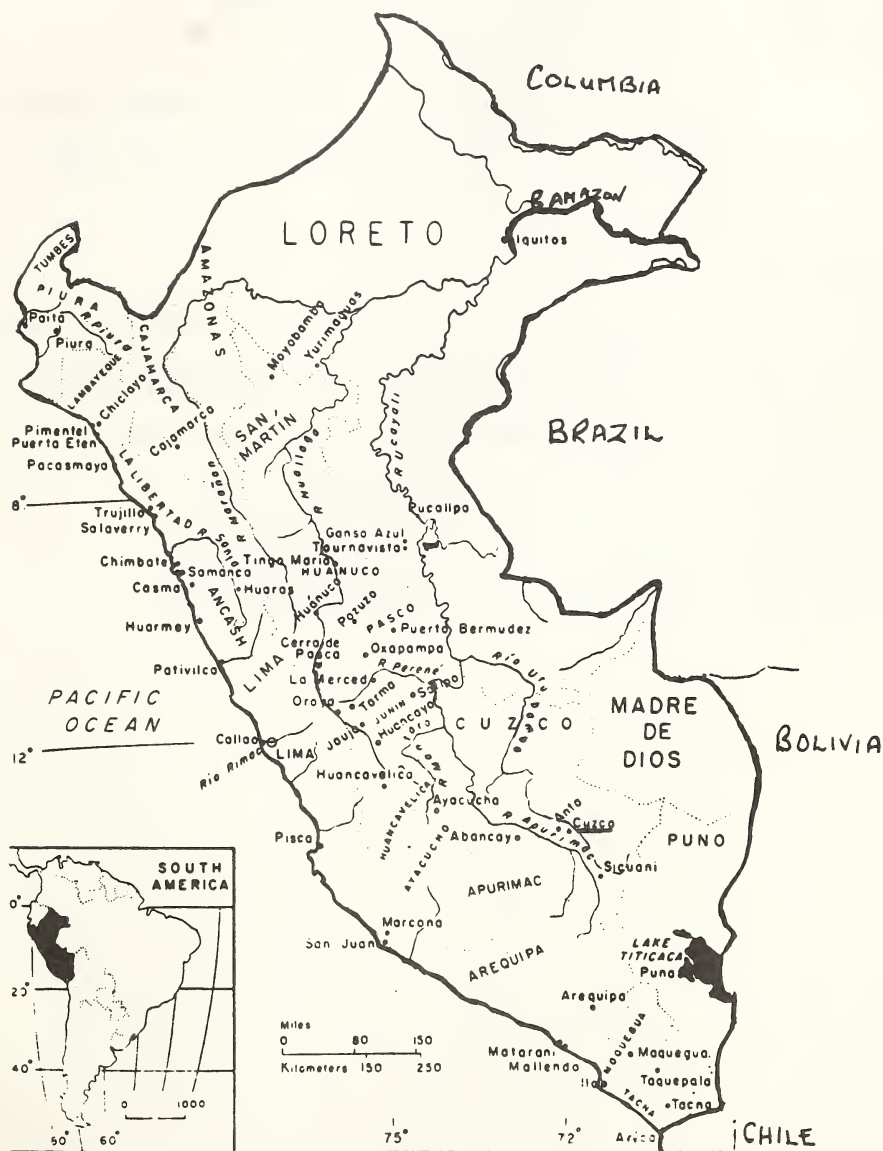
The bulk of the people live in the valleys, basins and plateaux of the Andes, the Indians tending to be found in small agricultural villages and as labourers on the large haciendas, while the mestizos congregate in the towns and cities. The villages are largely self supporting as regards food and clothing; the potato is the basis of agriculture, and meat and clothing are provided by the flocks of sheep. The Indian women spin wool incessantly even when walking to and from the local markets. The clothing they make is finely woven and brilliantly dyed but little is produced for sale. Cheap textiles are sold even in remote hamlets. The product of the Indian women's industry is displayed on their persons; ladies of good social standing wear ten or more skirts, one under the other, dyed in variations of red and yellow.

The male Peruvian Indian wears a cloak, like a blanket with a hole in it for the head, and no sleeves. Short breeches reaching to the knee, leaving the calf exposed and a pair of sandals complete the visible costume. Forty percent of the population is illiterate and drunkenness and addiction to coca chewing exist on a rather alarming scale.

The older customs of communal labour, the identity of the ayllu, the religious fiestas are being rapidly broken down by the encroachments of cheap bus transportation, by opportunities for outside work, and by faint stirring of political consciousness brought about by the radio and by radical or liberal political organizations. The government

occasionally proposes modest schemes whereby the holdings of the peasants are enlarged or redistributed, but in general the reactionary policies of the ruling oligarchy and the repressive interventions of the military have combined to refuse any adequate system of land reform. The feudal conservatism of the proprietors of the large estancias is understandable; theirs is a way of life reminiscent of the slave holders of the Confederacy. On the surface all appears pleasant--a leisured and cultured upper class lives in comfort surrounded and supported by a humble and hard-working peasantry in a style that has changed little in three hundred years. Such conditions appear in Victorian England, but below the placid surface boiled emotions that replaced government by the landed aristocracy with a broader based and less restricted authority. The variations in wealth in Peru are extreme; the many live in grinding poverty comforted by superstitions and alcohol; the few control the land, the wealth and the politics. Reform must come about. It is to be hoped that the methods of the conquistadores will not be practiced on their descendants by the children of the Inca.

PERU



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